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THE MARRIAGE

Wit and Wisdom,

AN ANCIENT INTERLUDE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

AND

THE EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA.

EDITED BY

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

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INTRODUCTION.

The members of the Shakespeare Society are again indebted to the indefatigable research of the Reverend L. B. Larking, and the discriminating liberality of Sir Edward Dering, Bart., for a most curious addition to our materials for the history of the early English drama. Scarcely a year has elapsed since Mr. Larking discovered the only contemporary manuscript of any of Shakespeare's plays known to be in existence; and the MS. now found is, it will be seen, of a nature equally unexpected and nearly as curious, if not more intrinsically valuable. For such discoveries, all who are in any way interested in the knowledge of our early theatrical history cannot but feel deeply grateful; and there are generally so many difficulties in the way of opening to the world the treasures deposited in the rich archives of our ancient families—difficulties which often arise from necessary and prudential motives, that it is really a subject of congratulation to find that perhaps one of the most important sources for the history of our drama is

wielded by no considerations of the kind. No member of this Society will fail to appreciate the generosity of Sir Edward Dering—

> I will most thankful be; and thanks, to men
> Of noble minds, is honourable meed.

And at the same time that a noble example is given to the owners of literary treasures throughout the country, the discovery of the ancient interlude of the "Contract of a Marriage between Wit and Wisdom" affords a striking lesson to literary antiquaries to pause before they substantiate conjectures and probabilities as matters of fact, and hesitate at assertions respecting the identity or non-existence of MSS. and rare books. We are constantly in the habit of seeing a notice to the effect that such a book or MS. is unique. Time passes, and two or three other copies are exhibited. In fact, no book can be safely so designated, and it is equally dangerous to assert that any particular work never existed, merely because no copy of it happens to be known. We have by no means come to the conclusion of our literary discoveries, which of late years have been too numerous and important, overthrowing theories and correcting errors, not to teach additional caution even to the most scrupulously careful. It must be remembered that publications of an antiquarian character are more peculiarly subject to slight mistakes, and should therefore be visited with some allowance for their liability to error.

So little, indeed, was Mr. Larking's second discovery

anticipated, that the Rev. A. Dyce, speaking of an allusion to the "Marriage of Wit and Wisdom," asserts, "*no such drama ever existed;*"[1] very strong language, and for which so careful an editor as Mr. Dyce ought to have had some warrant. The drama which "never existed" is printed in the following pages, and possibly not for the first time; but no early printed copy has been mentioned by our antiquaries, nor is one known to exist. An anonymous writer in the Society's Papers, vol. ii., p. 76, takes upon himself to confirm Mr. Dyce's assertion, and gives us the additional information that the real source of the mystery was still to be unravelled, that certainly no such piece as the Marriage of Wit and Wisdom ever did exist, but that it was only a "misnomer" for the "Marriage of Wit and *Science!*" Now, letting alone the present discovery, which of course sets the matter at rest, was it likely that the author of the play of "Sir Thomas More" should allude so distinctly and positively to "Wit and *Wisdom,*" and make observations suited only to those two characters, if he had really made a "misnomer" for another and a different play, in which, I believe, the character of Wisdom does not appear? This is one of the many instances of the want of sufficient discrimination in antiquarian conjectures—conjectures which

[1] Sir Thomas More, a Play, p. 56. It is very probable Mr. Dyce concluded that the play of Wit and Wisdom never existed, because the author of Sir Thomas More adapted fragments of Lusty Juventus to suit that title. The true meaning of this, however, may be accounted for on another and much more probable supposition.

not unfrequently prove of incalculable injury to the interests of real science.

In the anonymous play of Sir Thomas More, written probably about the year 1590, "My Lord Cardinal's players" are introduced, exhibiting a play within the play itself, a practice not uncommon formerly, and sanctioned by Shakespeare. When asked what plays were ready for representation, the player replies—

> Divers, my lord; *The Cradle of Security*,
> *Hit nail o' th' head, Impatient Poverty*,
> *The Play of Four P's, Dives and Lazarus*,
> *Lusty Juventus*, and *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom.*

The title of the last takes More's fancy, and is accordingly selected—

> The *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom!* That, my lads!
> I'll none but that. The theme is very good,
> And may maintain a liberal argument.

The guests present, when this was to be acted, were the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London. Shortly before the time appointed for the commencement of the play, the Vice, ready dressed, solicits permission to speak with More, when the following dialogue takes place:—

More. How now, what's the matter?

Vice. We would desire your honour but to stay a little; one of my fellows is but run to Ogles for a long beard for young Wit, and he'll be here presently.

More. A long beard for young Wit! Why, man, he may be without a beard till he come to marriage, for Wit goes not all by the hair. When comes Wit in?

Vice. In the second scene, next to the Prologue, my lord.

More. Why, play on till that scene come, and by that time Wit's beard will be grown, or else the fellow returned with it. And what part playest thou?

Vice. Inclination the Vice, my lord.

More. Gramercy, now I may take the vice, if I list; and wherefore hast thou that bridle in thy hand?

Vice. I must be bridled anon, my lord.

More. An thou beest not saddled too, it makes no matter, for then Wit's inclination may gallop so fast, that he will outstrip Wisdom, and fall to folly.

Vice. Indeed, so he does to Lady Vanity; but we have no folly in our play.

More. Then there's no wit in it, I'll be sworn; folly waits on wit, as the shadow on the body, and where wit is ripest there folly still is readiest. But begin, I prethee: we'll rather allow a beardless Wit, that Wit all beard to have no brain.

The trumpet sounds, and the Prologue enters, saying—

Now, for as much as in these latter days,
Throughout the whole world in every land,
Vice doth increase, and virtue decays,
Iniquity having the upper hand;
We therefore intend, good gentle audience,
A pretty short interlude to play at this present,
Desiring your leave and quiet silence
To show the same, as it is meet and expedient.
It is called the Marriage of Wit and Wisdom,
A matter right pithy and pleasant to hear,
Whereof in brief we will show the whole sum;
But I must be gone, for Wit doth appear.

It is singular that the play which is now acted by them, instead of being part of the interlude here printed,

should be nothing more than an alteration of Lusty Juventus, ingeniously adapted so as to suit the other title. As more than one explanation can be given, I shall content myself with stating the facts as I find them; merely observing that in the list of plays given above, Lusty Juventus occurs immediately before Wit and Wisdom. Perhaps the latter was old-fashioned and out of date at the time Sir Thomas More was composed. At all events, it is a curious circumstance, and it is possible further investigation may set the author's reasons in their true light. From the quotations given above, we had good grounds for believing that an independent play under the same title had existed in some shape or other before the year 1590. Mr. Larking's discovery proves such expectations to be well founded, and that there is no connexion between "Wit and Wisdom" and "Wit and Science." Two plays under the latter title are still preserved, one in Mr. Bright's manuscript, the other printed about 1570.

The MS. from which our text is printed is a small quarto volume, containing 32 leaves, measuring $7\frac{7}{8}$ by 6 inches, and in very bad condition. The state of the MS. has, in some few instances, rendered a satisfactory reading next to impossible, without the assistance of another copy; while the original transcriber was evidently a person of no education, and has blundered most egregiously. The casual observer will detect many errors; even the arrangement of the acts and scenes is inaccurate; but we have thought it better to give a faithful copy of the manuscript, rather than attempt to form a

version agreeable to a modern reader. There are, after all, but few difficulties of any serious moment; and as the interlude is worth a perusal for its own sake, we may perhaps venture to hope it will have a small share of attention as a work of the art in its infancy in this country.

Before twenty years had elapsed from the date of this play, which may almost be called a primitive composition, Shakespeare had given to the world many of those wonderful works that reached the high position of perfect dramatic excellence. So rapid a transition and growth is unexampled in the history of any literature, and we look in vain to account for it from any ordinary causes. It was a time when history was a dry and inaccurate chronicle, and fiction completely puerile. Those two sciences were stationary, while the drama was progressing with such wonderful advances. And it is such reflections that invest with peculiar interest the few relics which immediately preceded the productions of the Avonian poet. Few of them fail to illustrate his plays or his progress in one way or other, and the discovery now made adds one link to the chain. An enthusiastic inquirer might see in this the germ of a character introduced in the "Merry Wives of Windsor;" and the mere possibility is worthy accurate and careful investigation, for in the history of Shakespeare and his plays, the paucity of facts invites conjectural discussion; and however we may deprecate the danger of hasty deductions, and the liability of falling into them sometimes imperceptibly, which the greatest caution

cannot always avoid, there is a charm invested in the subject that renders the pursuit one of the most engaging entertainments in literature.

J. O. H.

February 22nd, 1846.

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The Interlude

of a

Contract of Mariage

between

Wit and Wisdome.

The Contract[1] of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome very frutefull and mixed full of pleasant mirth as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers: neuer before im printed.

The deuision of the partes for six to playe this interlude.

The Prologue Idelnes Epilouge	For one.	Wantonis Fancy Dolle	For one.
Seueritie Ircksomnes Snatch Honest recreat:	For one.	Witt Serch Inquisiton	For one.
Indulgence Wisdome Mother Bee	For one.	Good Nurture Catch Lob	For one.

1579.

[1] This word is nearly obliterated in the original MS., and I am somewhat doubtful of the correctness of the reading here adopted, which is Mr. Larking's ingenious conjecture.

THE MARIAGE

OF

WITT AND WISDOME.

THE PROLOGUE.[1]

Who markes the common course
of youthfull wandring wits,
Shall se the most of them frequent
where Idlenes still sits;
And how the Irksomnes
doth murther many a one,
Before that thay to wisdomes-ward
the halfe way yet haue gone.
Excepte good Nurture doe,
with some seueritie,
Conduct them to Pernassus mount
wel fauurt (?) with leuitie.
But if it hap in fine,
that Witt the mate be made
Of Wisdome such a worthy wyfe,
to followe godly trade;
Then shall you see whereon
Dame Vertue doth depend;
Not all the world besides, forsooth,
so meet a match can mend:

[2] This prologue is written as prose in the original MS.

But els, if Wit should wag,
and hap to waue awry,
Without, then, any rightfull rule,
and reasons good supplie,
Then Fancy frames effects,
to bring his braine aborde,
And shelue his ship in hauens mouth,
yere it the seas haue scoured.
Whereby you may perceaue
that Wisdome[1] * * *
That must conforme a youthfull Witt
and bring it in good plight.
The proofe the sequell showes,
for I haue done my charge,
And to the actors must giue place
to sett it forth at large. [*Exit.*

[1] The MS. is here defaced.

The First Scene.

Enter SEUERITIE, *and his wife*, INDULGENCE, *and there some*, WIT.

SEUERITIE.

My sonne, draue neare, giue eare to me,
And marke the cause aright,
For which I call the to this place,
Lett all thy whole delight
Be still in seruing God aright,
And trading vertues trace,
And labour learning for to gett,
Whilste thou hast time and space.
I now haue brought the on the way
The thing for to attaine,
Which, sonne, if thou mightst hap to hit,
Wil turne vnto thy gaine:
Thow knowest how chargiable a thing
Thy learning is to me;
Thou knowest also the care I take
For to prouide for the;
And now since that thyne age drawe on
To natures riper state,

My purpose is and full intent
To find for the a mate,
With whome thou mayest dispend the rest
Of this thy life to come,
And Joye as I thy father haue
With this thy mother done.

INDULGENCE.

Indeed, good husband, that were good,
We haue no more but he;
My hart, my thinks,[1] wold be at rest
Him matched for to see:
But yet, my deare Seueritie,
Be headfull for your life,
That she be able for to liue,
That ye shall take to wyfe.

SEUERITIE.

Well, as for that I shall for-se,
For why I knowe rite well,
That she whome I doe meane is rich,
And highly doth excell;
Wherefore, sonne Witt, marke well my tale,
Dame Wisdome is the wight,
Whome you shall laboure to espouse
With all your maine and might.
And if that she will be your wyfe,
Looke what I leaue be hind,
You shall possesse it full and whole,
According vnto kind:
But if you find some worser haunt,
And hap to rune by rote,
I promisse the, before these folke,
Thoust neuer cost me grote.

[1] Me thinks.

WITT.

Deare father, for your graue aduice
Right humble thainks I giue,
Entending to obay your charge,
So long as I shall liue;
Now if that Witt with Wisdome may
Be linked fast in loue,
Then Witt shall think him selfe right blest
Of God that sits aboue!

INDULGENCE.

Well said, good Witt, and hold the there,
I tell the this before,
Indulgence, when thay maried art,
Hath buttur pence in store.

SEUERITIE.

Such pampring mothers doe more harme
Then ere thay can doe good.

INDULGENCE.

If you had felt the paine we feel,
You then wold change your mood.

SEUERITIE.

You showe that you the mother are
Of this the outward man,
And not of mine; for, if you ware,
You wold be carfull then
To giue him counsell how to vse
Him selfe for to aspire
To Wisdomes frendships and her loone,
The which we doe desire.

INDULGENCE.

Alas! good sir, why harken, Wit,
What counsell I can giue;
When as thou commest to Wisdoms house,
Then mayest thou it appreue:
Take heade that thou art nete and fine,
And go straight bolt vppright,
And cast a chearfull looke on her,
Smilling at the first sight.
And when thou commest to talke with her,
Forgett not for to praise
Her house, herselfe, and all her things,
And still be glad to please;
Be diligent to doe for her,
Be pleasant in her sight,
Say as she sayeth, allthought that she
Doe say the crowe is white;
And if she haue minde to oght,
Allthought it cost red gould,
Prouide it for her, and thou mayest be
More welcome and more bolde.

SEUERITIE.

Se! se! what counsell you can giue,
You shoue your nature plane;
This counsell liketh Wit right well,
And maketh him al-to faine.
But, sirra, if thou list to thriue,
Marke well what I shall say,
That Wisdome may become your wife,
This is the redy waye:
Applie your booke and still beware
Of Idlenes, I say,

For he a enimy hath bine
To Vertue many a day.
Be weare of Irksomnis, I say,
Which is a monstor fell,
And neare to lady Wisdomes house
Doth alwayes vse to dwell;
For he will haue a fling at you,
And so will Idlenes,
Therefore beware of these to folks,
And God will sure you blesse.[1]

WIT.

As dutie doth requier in me,
I thaink you humbly,
For these your fatherly precepts,
And purpose earnestly
For to obserue that you command,
And these my foes to watch,
Least they perhaps, ere I beware,
Me in there snares shuld catch.

INDULGENCE.

Well, yet before the goest, hold heare
My blessing in a cloute,
Well fare the mother at a neede,
Stand to thy tackling stout.

WIT.

Mother, I thaink you hartily,
And you, father, likwise;
And both your blessings heare I craue
In this my enterprise.

[1] The top of this page in the MS. is cut off, but there does not seem to be any of the text missing.

BOTHE.

God blese the, Wit, our sonne,
And send the good successe.

WIT.

I thaink you both, and pray to God
To send to you no lesse!
[*Exeunt* SEUERITIE *and* INDULGENCE

WIT.

God grant this my purpose may
Come vnto good effect;
Well now I must aboute this geare,[1]
I must it not forgett. [*Exit.*

The Second Scene.

Enter IDLENES, *the vice.*

A! sirra, my masters,
How fare you at this blessed day?
What, I wen, all this compony
Are come to se a play!
What lackest the, good fellow,
Didest the nere se man before?
Here is a gasing! I am the best man in the compony,
When there is no more.
As for my properties I am sure
You knowe them of old:
I can eate tell, I sweate and worke
Tell I am a-cold.

[1] This line is crossed through in the original MS.

I am allwayes troubled with the litherlurden,
I loue so to liger;[1]
I am so lasy, the mosse groweth an
Inch thick on the top of my finger!
But if you list to knowe my name,
I wis I am to well knowen to some men;
My name is Idlenes, the flower
Of the frying-pan!
My mother had ij. whelps at one litter,
Both borne in Lent;
So we ware both put into a mussellbote,
And came saling in a sowes yeare ouer sea into Kent.
My brother, Ercsomnis, and I, catch the doge,
Being disposed to make mery,
We gott vs both doune to Harlowe-bery.[2]
But what is that to the purpose
Perhapes you wold knowe:
Giue me leaue but a littell,
And I will you showe.
My name is Idelnes, as I tould you before,
And my mother Ignorance sent me hether;
I pray the, sirra, what more?
Marry, my masters, she sent me the
Counterfait crainke for to play,
And to leade Witt, Seuerities sone, out
of the waye;
He should mock a marrige with Wisdome,
In all hast, as thay talke;
But stay thare awhile, soft fier makes swet malt:
I must be firme to bring him out of his
Broune stodie, on this fashion,

[1] So in MS. for *linger*.

[2] The metrical arrangement in the MS. is most irregul and I have here left it as it is found in the original.

I will turne my name from Idlenes
To Honest Recreation ;
And then I will bring him to be Mistris
Wantonnes man,
And afaith, then, he is in for a berd, get
out how he can !
But soft, yet my masters, who is with in ?
Open the dore and pull out the pine.

WANTONES *entreth, and sayeth.*

What, Dol, I say, open the dore !
Who is in the streate ?
What, Mr Idlenes ! lay a straw vnder
your feete.
I pray you, and me may aske you,
what wind brought you hether.

IDELNES.

A littell wind, I warrent you ;
I am as lite as any fether !
But harke the.

WANTONIS.

What, it is not so : will he come indeade ?

IDELNES.

Nay, if I say the word, thou mayest beleue
as thy creed :
But when he comes, you must be curtious,
I tell you,
And you shall find him as gentell as a
faulcon,
Euery fooles fellowe.
What, me thinkes you are with child !

WANTONNES.

Nay, my belly doth swell with eating
of egges.

IDLENES.

Nay, by S. Anne, I am afraid it is a
timpany with two legges!
Away, get the in! [*Exit.*

Enter WIT.

My father he hath charged me
The thing to take in hand,
Which seames to me to be so hard,
It cannot well be scand;
For I haue toyled in my booke,
Where Wisdome much is praysed,
But she is so hard to find,
That I am nothing eased;
I wold I had bin set to blowe,
or to some other trade,
And then I might some leasure find,
And better shift haue made;
But nowe I swinke and sweate in vaine,
My labour hath no end,
And moping in my study still,
My youthfull yeares I spend.
Wold God that I might hap to hit
Vpon some good resort,
Some pleasant pastime for to find,
And vse some better sporte.

IDLENES.

Mary, no better, I am euen as fitt
For that purpose as a rope for a theefe;

And you will be lusty, cry hay !
Amongst knaues I am the cheefe !

WITT.

What, good fellow, art thou ? what is thy name ?

IDLENES.

In faith I am *Ipse*, he euen the
very same !
A man of greate estimation
in mine owne cuntry ;
I was neuer stained but once,
faling out of my mothers plumtre.

WIT.

Thou art a mery fellowe and wise,
And if thou kepe thy selfe warme.

IDLENES.

In faith, I haue a mother, Wit,
But I think no harme.

WIT.

I pray the, what is thy name ?
To me it declare.

IDLENES.

Nay, I am no nigard of my name,
For that I will not spare.
Ha ! by the masse, I could haue told
You euen now,
What a short brained villain am I,
I am as wise as my mothers sowe !
I pray you, sur, what is my name ?
Cannot you tell ?

Is there any here that knowes where
My godfather doth dwell?
Gentellmen, if you will tarry while I
goe luck,
I am sure my name is in the church booke.

WIT.

I prethy, come of, and tell me thy name
with redynis.

IDLENES.

Faith, if you will neades knowe, my name
is Idelnes.

WIT.

Mary, fie one the, knaue! I mene not
thy compony.

IDLENES.

What, because I spoke in iest, will
you take it so angerly?
For my name is Honest Recreation,
I let you well to witt,
There is not in all the world
A companion for you more fitt.

WIT.

And if thy name be Honest Recreation,
Thou art as welcome as any in this laund.

IDLENES.

Yea, mary is it!

WIT.

Why, then, giue me thy hand.

IDLENES.

In faith, I thaink you. You are come
of a gentell birth,
And therefore I will bring you acquainted
With a gentellwoman called Modest Mirth.

WIT.

Yea, mary, with all my hart, and God haue mercy.

IDLENES.

Why then, come away, come! lett vs goe.
How God be heare!

WANTONIS.

What, master Honest Recreation, I pray
you drawe neare.

IDLENES.

Nay, I pray you come hether; come, I
pray ye.

WANTONIS.

I come.

IDLENES.

Nay, but in any wise hide your belly.

WANTONIS.

It is a childe of your getting.

IDLENES.

I, it hath fathers at large; but here comes in Witt, that is like to bere all the charge.[1]

[1] I may mention once for all that I do not undertake to alter in every case the arrangement of the MS. This is verse written

Gentellman, here is the gentellewoman.
Kisse her, I say, I am a horson els!
If I had know[n]e you wold not a kist her,
I wold haue kist her myselfe.

WIT.

Gentellwoman, this shalbe to desier you of more acquaintance.

WANTONNOS.

Sir, a ought i may pleasuer you i will giue atendence; to haue maney suters my lot dooth befall, but yet me think i lyk you best of all.

IDLENES.

Yea, she might haue had maney men of knauery and of stellth.

WONTANES.

What saist thou?

IDLNES.

Mary, you might haue had many men of brauery and wellth; but yet me thinkes ther canot be a mach mor fit then betwen Mistres Modst Mirth and you, Master Wite.

WONTONES.

That is well sayed.

IDLNES.

Yea, and that will be a redy carage [illegible] the rop.

as prose, and it is sometimes advisable to preserve somewhat of the character of the original in such matters.

WONTANES.

What sayest thou?

IDELNIS.

That will be a spety marige, i hope.[1]

WONTONES.

By my troth, I am so wery, I moust nedes sit down; my legges will not houlld mee.

WITT.

Thin will I sit downe by you, if I may be so bould.

IDLENIS.

Heare is loue, sir reuerence, this geare
is euen fitt;
Oh! here is a hed hath a counting house
full of witt!

WIT.

I am sure you are cuninge in musick, and therefore, if you please, sing vs a songe.

WANTINIS.

That will I, if it were for your ease.

Here shall Wantonis sing this song to the tune of "Attend the goe playe the;" and hauing sung him a sleepe vpon her lappe, let him snort; then let her set a fooles bable on his hed, and collingo his face: and Idlenis shall steale away his purse from him, and goe his wayes.

This part of the MS. appears to be written in another and more illiterate hand.

THE SONG.

Lye still, and heare nest the,
Good Witt, lye and rest the,
And in my lap take thou thy sleepe;
Since Idlenis brought the,
And now I have caught the,
I charge the let care away creepe.
So now that he sleepes full soundly,
Now purpose I roundly,
Trick this prety doddy,
And make him a noddy,
And make him a noddy!

Since he was vnstable,
He now wares a bable,
Since Idlenis led him away;
And now of a scollar
I will make him a colliar,
Since Wantonis beareth the swaye:
Well, now I haue him chaunged,
I neades must be rainging;
I now must goe pack me,
For my gossops will lack me,
For my, &c.

Enter GOOD NURTURE, *speaking this.*

I meruell where my schollard Wit
Is now of late become?
I feare least with il compony
He happen for to rune;
For I, Good Nurture, commonly
Among all men am counted,

But Witt, by this his straing so,
I feare hath me renounced.
Seueritie, his father, sure
Is graue and wise withall,
But yet his mother's pampring
Will bring his sonne to thrall.

Here he stayeth stumbling at Wit as he lyeth a sleep.

Why, how now! how, what wight is this
On home we now haue hit?
Softe, let me se: this same is he,
Ye, truly, this is Wit!

Here he awaketh him.

What, Wit, I say, arise for shame!
O, God! where hast thou bin?
The compony made the a foole
That thou of late wast in.

Here he riseth, rubbing his eyes, and saying,

O, arrant strumpet that she was that ran
me in this case!

GOOD NURTURE.

Nay, rather thou art much to blame
To be with such in place.

Here he washeth his face and taketh of the bable.

Come on, I say, amend this geere,
Beware of all temptation;
Your wearinis for to refrish,
Take Honest Recreation.

He deliuereth him Honest Recreation.

WIT.

I thaink you, Mr. Nurture, much for this
your gentelnis,
And will doe your commandiments henceforth
with willingnis.

GOOD NURTURE.

God grant you may ; and, sirra,
you awaight vpon him still. [*Exit.*

WITT.

I thaink you, sir, with all my hart,
For this your greate good will ;
One journi more I meane to make,
I think I was acurst !
God grant the second time may be
More happy then the first !

[*Thay both goe out.*

Tertia Sena.

Enter IDLENIS.

Ah ! sirra ! it is an old prouerb and a true,
I sware by the roode !
It is an il wind that bloues no man to good.
When I had brought Wit
Into Wantonnis hampering,
Then thought I it was time for me
To be tempering.
The cook is not so sone gone

As the doges hed is in the porigpot;
Wit was not so sone asleepe,
But my hand was in his hose.
Wantonis is a drab!
For the nonce she is an old rig;
But as for me, my fingers are as good as
a liue twig.
Now am I nue araid like a phesitien;
Now doe I not pas,
I am as reddy to cog with Mr. Wit as euer I was;
I am as very a turncote as the wethercoke of Poles;
For now I will calle my name Due
Disporte, fit for all soules, ye.
So, so, findly I can turne the catt in the pano.
Now shall you heare how findly Master Doctor
Can play the outlandish man.
Ah! by Got, me be the Doctor,
Me am the fine knaue, I tell ye,
And haue the good medicine for the maidens belly:
Me haue the excellent medicine
For the blaines and blister.
Ah! me am the knaue
To giue the faire maid the glister!
How like you this, my masters?
The bee haue no so many herbes
Whereout to suck hony,
As I can find shifts whereby to get mony.

Enter SNACH *and* CATCH.

IDLENIS.

But, soft, awhile, my masters,
Who haue we heare?
These be crafty knaues,
And therefore lie thou there! } *lay doune the purse in a cornor.*

The song that SNACH *and* CATCH
singeth together.

I hath bin told, ben told, in prouerbs old,
That souldiares suffer both hunger and cold,
That souldiares suffer both hunger and cold;
And this sing we, and this sing we,
We liue by spoyle, by spoyle, we moyle and toyle;
Thus Snach and Catch doth keepe a coyle!
And thus liue we, and thus liue we,
By snatchin a[1] catchin thus liue we.

We come from sea, from sea, from many a fray,
To pilling and poling euery day,
To pilling and poling euery day:
And thus skipe we, and thus skipe we,
And ouer the hatches thus skipe we!

CATCH.

Hey liuely, by the gutes of a crab-louse, Snach,
This is an excellent sporte;
Now we are come from Flushin to the English port,
There shall not a fat pouch
Come nodding by the way,
But Snach and Catch will desier him to stay.

SNATCH.

Yea, by the hodges hed, Catch,
Now we will lick the spickets;
But, by the masse, my hose be full
Of Spanish crickets!
Sirra, dost thou not knowe Idlenis,
That counterfait knaue?

[1] So in MS. for *and*.

CATCH.

Ye, by St. Jane, I knowe him well for a knaue.
He hath his purse full of mony,
If we cold him gett.

SNATCH.

Where had he it?

CATCH.

I tell the, Snatch, he stole it from Witt.

SNATCH.

Who told the so? declare it with redinis.

CATCH.

By the braines of a black pudding,
'Tis such a knaue thou hast not hurde:
It was told me of Wantonis. *Here thay espie him.*

IDLENIS.

Ah, that drabe, she can cacklel like a cadowe;
I pray you behold, my masters,
A man may shape none by ther shadowe.

SNACH.

O, wonderfull! I wold he ware burst.

CATCH.

Nay, I pray the lett me spake first.
Master Idlenis, I am glad to se you mery, hartly.

IDLNIS.

In faith, I thaink you.[1]

[1] The word *hartily* was here inserted, but has been crased, apparently by the original transcriber.

But I had rather haue your rome as your
componie.

SNATCH.

Master Idlenis, how haue you done
in a long time?

IDLNIS.

Come, come, an hand of you to pick a purse of mine.

CATCH.

Nay, sir, I hope you trust vs better;
I must neades borrow your ring to seale a
letter.

IDLENIS.

By my leaue, in spite of my teath;
God a mercy horse!
This is that must neades be,
Quoth the good man, whenn he made his wyfe
Pine the baskit. Patience, perforce.
Well, my masters, if you will goe with me,
I will carry you to and old wyfe that
Makes pudings . . . . . :[1] hold your nose thare;
And if you will, you may haue ledges of
Mutton stufte with heare.

CATCH.

This is a craftie fox, but, by a herring toke:
I haue a good nose to be a pore mans sowe,
I can smell an appell seuen mill in a haye mowe.
Vbi animus ibi oculus, where he loues there
he lookes.

[1] Three words are here omitted, *causa pudoris*.

Hey liuely, these will helpe to bring me
out of John Tapsters bookes.
Now he shall find the purse.

Heere after thay haue scambled for the mony, they shall spet in the purse and giue it him againe.

SNACH.

Hold heare! thou shalt not lease all; thy purse shall not come home weeping for lose; and as for the, thou shalt be commist to Dawes crosse.

IDLENIS.

Euell gotten worse spent:
By thift this mony came;
I got it with the deuell,
And now it is gone with his name!

CATCH.

But, sirra, if we let him escape,
Perhaps we may haue a checke;
If we should chance to looke through an hemp
Windowe, and our arse brake our necke.

SNATCH.

Why, we will pull him vp by a rope
To the tope of the house,
And then lett him fall.

CATCH.

Nay, then, I knowe a better way;
We will rune his arse against the wall!

SNATCH.

Nay, by the mase, I haue a deuise much more mete;

Where I lay last night, I stole away a sheete:
We will take this and tie it to his hed,
And soe we will blind him;
And, sirra, I charge you, when you here
any body comming,
If they aske you any question, say you goe
a-mumming.

Here they turne him aboute, and bind his hands behinde him, and tye the sheet aboute his face.

IDLENIS.

A-mumming, quoth you; why, there can be nothing worse then for a man to goe a-mumminge when he hath no mony in his purse.

CATCH.

Well, yet we charge you to doe on this fashion.

SNATCH.

Farewell, Mr. Idlenis, and remember
your lesson.

Here thay rune one to one cornor of the stage, and the other to the other, and spake like cuntrymen, to begild him.

IDELNIS.

A, sirra, in faith this geer cottons:
I go still a mumming;
Euen poore I, all alone, without ether pipe
or druming.

SNATCH.

Good day, neighbour, good day!
Tis a faire graye morning, God be blessed!

CATCH.

I, be Gis, twold be trim wether,
And if it were not for this mist:
What, those fellowes be all day at brakfast;
I win thay make feasts:
What, Jack, I say, I must hange you
Before you will serue the beasts:
How now, Gods dagers! death! whoe
haue we heare?

IDLENIS.

O, for the passion of God, lose me! False knaues haue robd me of all the mony I got this yeere.

[*Here thay beate him.*

SNATCH.

Yea, ye rascall, is the matter so plane?
Come, come, we must teach
him his lesson againe.

CATCH.

Sirra, now you haue learned a trick
for your cumminge:
When anybody comith, say you goe a-mumingo.

[*Exit* SNATCH: CAT.

IDLENIS.

A-muminge, quoth you: why, this geer
will not settell;
Ether I rose on my lift side to day, or I
pist on a nettell.
Here is nuse, [quoth] the fox, when he lett a farte
in the morninge;
If Wantonis knew this, she will neuer lin
scorninge;

This same is kind cuckolds luck:
These fellowes haue giuen me a drie pluck;
Now I haue neuer a crose to blesse me.
Now I goe a-mumming,
Like a poore pennilesse spirit,
Without pipe or druming!

Enter WIT, *and* HONIST RECREATION *awaiting on him.*

WITT.

Fye, fye, what kind of life is this?
to laboure all in vaine,
To toil to gett the thing the which
my witt cannot attaine.
The journie semith wondrous long,
the which I haue to make,
To teare myselfe and beate my braines,
And all for Wisdomes sake!
And it, God[1] knowes what may befall,
And what luck God will send,
If she will loue me when I come
At this my journyes end.
This Honest Recreation delites me not at all;
For, when I spend the time with him,
I bring myselfe in thrall!
[*Here he steppeth back, haveng espied* IDLENIS.
But softe, what haue we heare?
Some gost or dedly sperrit,
That comes our journy for to stay,
And vs for to affrite.

IDLENIS.

Yea, by the mas, what, are ye comming?

[1] An *s* is wrongly inserted here by the transcriber.

In faith, I am a penilesse spirit ;
I goe still a-mumming.

WIT.

I conjure the to tell me what art thou, a man, a monster, a spirit, or what woldest thou haue ?

IDLENIS.

I am neither man, monster, nor spirit, but a pore, peniles knaue !

WITT.

Wherefore is thy comminge ?

IDLENIS.

Marry, to goe a-mumming.

WIT.

Yea, but what art thou ?
May not that be knowen ?

IDLENIS.

Why, what am I but a knaue,
When all my mony is gone ?

WIT.

Come, tell me thy name :
I pray the haue done.

IDLENIS.

A good honest knaues :
Haue ye forgot so sone ?

WIT.

Why, but will ye not tell me
How thou camest thus drest !

IDLENIS.

In faith, gentell theaues,
You yourselues knowes best.

WIT.

Doe I? why, thou dost not know me;
The whorson patch!

IDLENIS.

Yes, I knowe it is ether
Snatch or Catch.
But in faith, gentell theaues,
I goe still a-muming,
Although it be ether
Without pipe or druminge.

Here shall WIT *pul of the sheet, saying,*

WIT.

How sayest thou now?
Canst thou not see?
I pray the tell me,
Dost thou know me?

IDLNIS.

O, the body of a Gorge,
I wold I had them heare;
In faith, I wold chope them,
Thay ware not so hack this seuen yeer!
Why, I am so could,
That my teeth chater in my hed!
I haue stood here iij. dayes and iij. nights,
Without ether meate or bread.

WIT.

I pray the, what is thy name,
And whether dost thou resorte?

IDLENIS.

Forsoth, for fault of a better,
Is Due Disporte.

WIT.

Didst not the call thyselfe
Honist Recreation, which deceued me onces.

IDLENIS.

Why, I am a phesition. If it were I,
  a knaue shake my bones!
I am a greate trauelir.
  I lite on the dunghill like a puttock!
Nay, take me with a lye,
  And cut out the brane of my buttock.

WIT.

If thy name be Due Disporte,
I wold be acquainted with the;
For in sporte I delight.

IDLENIS.

Not vnder a cuppel of capons,
  And thay must be white.
But if you will be acquainted
  With me, as you say,
Then must you send this companion away;
  For you and I must walke alone.

WIT.

Why, then, sirra, away, gett you gan.
[*Exit* HONIST RECREATION.

IDLENIS.

So now, come on with me
To a frends house of mine,
That there we may to some sport.

WIT.

Com on, then.

IDLENIS *hauing brought him to the den of* IRCK-
OMNES, *shall leape away, and* IRCKSOMNES *enter like a*
onstor, and shall beat doune WIT *with his cloub,*
ying,

IRCKSOMNIS.

What wite is that
Which comes so nere his pane? *Here thay fite.*
WIT *falls doune.*

WIT.

Alas, alas, now am I stund!

IRCKSOMNIS.

Nay, nay, no force! thou mightest
a further stood;
If thou hadest scape
Safe by any dene,
Thy luck ware to-to goo. [*Exit.*

IRCKSOMNIS *leaueth him dead on the stage.*
Enter WISDOME *and sayeth,*

Of late abrode I harde report
That Wit makes many vowes,

The lady Wisdome if he may
To wyfe for to espouse;
But it I feare both Idelnis and Ircksomnis will sonder.
Soft, this same is Wit, that lieth bleading yonder.

Heere she helpeth him vp.

What, Wit, be of good cheare,
And now I will sustaine the.

WIT.

O, Lady Wisdome, so I wold,
But Ircksomnis hath slaien me.

WISDOME.

Well, yet arise, and doe as I shall tell,
And then, I warrant the,
Thou shalt doe well.

WIT.

I thaink you much: and though that I
Am very much agreaued,
Yet, sence your coming, sure my thinks
I am right well releued:
You showe your courtesie herein,
Wherein I partly gesse
That you doe knowe the cause right well
Of this my deepe distresse.
My father bad me labour still
Your fauore to obtaine;
But it before I could you see,
Full greate hath bin my paine.
First Idlenis he brought me wo,
Then Wantonis stept in,
And, last of all, foule Ircksomnis
His parte he doth begin.

WISDOME.

I thinke right well; for many a one
Hath come to sore decaye,
When as it hapt that Ircksomnis
Hath met them in the way.
For I, poore Wisdome, here am plaste
Among these craggie clifts,
And he that seekes to win my loue
Must venter many shifts;
But it I beare the greate good will,
And here I promise the,
If thou canst Ircksomnis destroy,[1]
Thy lady I will be;
And to the end that may be done,
Which I might wèll aford,
Hold heere Perseuerance, I say,
A good and lucky sword;
And call for Ircksomnis,
And lett him feale thy force:
Be stoute, for if he ouercome,
He will haue no remorse!

WIT.

My maddam deare, behold the wight,
Which feares not, for thy loue,
To fight with men and monstors both,
As straight I shall it proue.

WISDOME.

Well, doe so then;
The whiles I will depart.

[1] *Estroy* in the MS.

WIT.

I thaink you, lady Wisdome, much;
Farewell, with all my hart.

[*Exit* WISDOME.

WIT *calleth forth* IRCKSOMNIS.

Well, once more haue at Ircksomnis.
Com forth, thou monstor fell!
I hope yet now the second time
Thy pride and force to quel.

Enter IRCKSOMNIS, *saing*,

What! who is that that cales me forth?
What, art thou yet aliue?
If that I catch the once againe,
Thou shalt no more reuiue!

WIT.

Leaue of thy brages, and doe thy worst;
Thy words may not preuaile at first.

Here thay fight a while, and IRCKSOMNIS *must run in adores, and* WIT *shall followe, taking his visor of his hed, and shall bring it in vpon his sworde, saing*,

The Lord be thainked for his grace,
This monster is subduid,
And I, which erst was worne with wo,
Am now with ioy renued!
Well, now before that I vnto
Dame Wisdomes house repare,
I will vnto my father go,
These newes for to declare. [*Exit.*

The Second Act. The iiij. Scena.

Enter IDLENIS, *halting with a stilt, and shall cary a cloth vpon a stafe, like a rat-catcher, and say,*

Haue you any rats or mise, polecats or weasels?
Or is there any old sowes sick of the measels?
I can destroy fulmers and catch moles;
I haue ratsbaine, maidens,
To spoil all the vermine that run in your holes.
A ratcatcher, quoth you,
This is a strainge occupation;
But euery where for Idlenis
Thay make proclymation;
Thay say he shalbe hanged for cousining of Wit:
But there is a towne cald Hopshort;
Thay haue me not yet!
I can goe hard by there noses and neuer
be knowne,
Like a ratcatcher, tell Serch be gone.

Here he espieth SEARCH *coming in, and goeth vp and doune, saying, "haue you any rats and mise?" as in the first fiue lines.*

SEARCH.

Here is a moyling: they would haue a man
Doe more then he is able:
One were better to be hanged,
Then to be a constable!
I haue searched for a knaue called Idlenis,
But I canot find him for all my businis:
The knaue the saye haue cousind Wit,
And shord him on the shelf.

IDLENIS.

Yea, if you take not heade,
He will goe nie to cousin yourselfe.

SEARCH.

What, dost the knowe him, good fellow?
I pray the now tell.

IDLENIS.

Doe I knowe? why, I tell the
I haue ratsbane to sell.

SEARCH.

Ratsbaine! tut a pointe!
Dost thou know Idlenis? tell me.

IDLENIS.

Why, I tell the I knowe him
As well as he knowes me:
I ween he be a talle man,
And I trowe he strutes.
And he be not a knaue, I wold he had
A pound of ratsbaine in his guts.

SEARCH.

Yea, but wheare is he? canst thou tell?

IDLENIS.

No, faith, not well.

SEARCH.

Yea, but my thinks thou art lame.

IDLENIS.

Yea, you may see such luck
Haue thay which vse game.
I haue bin at St. Quintins,
Where I was twise kild;
I haue bin at Musselborow,
At the Scottish feeld:
I haue bin in the land of greene ginger,
And many a wheare,
Where I haue bin shot through
Both the buttocks,
And an hargubushere:
But now I am old,
And haue nought myselfe to defend,
And am faine to be a ratcatcher
to mine end!

Heere shall SEARCH *take out a peece of paper and looke on it.*

SEARCH.

What shall I giue the
To crie a proclimation?

IDLENIS.

For halfe a score pots of beare,
I will crie it after the best fashion.

Here shall SEARCH *reach a chare, and* IDLENIS *shall goe vp and make the proclamation.*

SEARCH.

Come, gett vp heare; you must
say as I say.

IDLENIS.

How, and you say I am a knaue,
Then must I needs say nay.

SEARCH.

First, crie *oyes* a good while.

IDLENIS.

Very well. [*He cries to long.*

SEARCH.

Inought! inought! what, hast
thou neuer done?

IDLENIS.

What, didst not the bed me crie long?
I haue not scarse begune!

SEARCH.

Goe to; crie shorter, with a vengance.

IDLENIS.

Oyes! oyes! oyes! oyes! [*very often.*

SEARCH.

What, I think thou art mad!

IDLENIS.

Why, would you not haue me doe
as you bad?

SEARCH.

Why, canst thou keepe no meane?

IDLENIS.

Oyes ! [*Here he shall crie well.*

SEARCH.

That is uery well said.

IDLENIS.

That is uery well said !

SEARCH.

What, I wine thou bist drunck to day !

IDLENIS.

Why, did you not bid me say as you
did say ?

SEARCH.

Come, say "one the kings most royall maiestie."

IDLENIS.

John King gaue a royall to lye with
Margery.

SEARCH.

Why, what said I ?

IDLENIS.

Why, so.

SEARCH.

I say "the Kings most Royall magistie."

IDLENIS.

The Kings most Royall magistie !

SEARCH.

" Dooth charge you, all his true people."

IDLENIS.

What, it is not so.

SEARCH.

What?

IDLENIS.

Why, you say there was a barge flew ouer a steeple!

SEARCH.

I say, " doth charge all his true people."

IDLENIS.

O, doth charge all his true people;
that is another matter.

SEARCH.

That they watch elswhere,
And see in the towne.

IDLENIS.

That euery patch that a man weares
On his knee shall cost a crowne.

SEARCH.

Why, what meanes that?
I spake no such word:
" That thay watch elswhere,
And se in each towne."

IDLENIS.

That they watch, &c.

SEARCH.

If that Idlenis by any meance
thay can find.

IDLENIS.

No, mary, you say not true.

SEARCH.

What is that?

IDLENIS.

It is not for Idlenis that men
sowe beanes in the wind.

SEARCH.

If that Idlenis by any meance
Thay can find. *Pul him downe.*

IDLENIS.

If that Idlenis, &c.

SEARCH.

Come downe, with a pestilence!
A morin rid the!

IDLENIS.

Here is good thainks, my masters.
Come, giue me my fee.

SEARCH.

Come, giue me vj. pence,
And I will giue the viij. pence.

Now shall SEARCH *rune away with his mony, and he shall cast away his stilt, and run after him.*

The Fifte Scena.

Enter FANCIE.

Like as the rowling stone we se
Doth neuer gather mosse,
And gold, with other metels mixt,
Must neades be full of drose;
So likwise I, which commonly
Dame Fancy haue to name,
Amongest the wise am huted [1] much,
And suffer mickle blame,
Because that, wauing heare and there,
I neuer stidfast stand,
Whereby the depth of learnings lore
I cannot vnderstand;
But Wit perhaps will me imbrace,
As I will vse the matter;
For whie, I meane to counterfait,
And smothly for to flatter,
And say I am a messinger
From Lady Wisdome sent,
To se if that wil be a meane
To bring him to my bent.
But se where he doth come.

Enter WIT.

WIT.

Like as the silly mariner,[2]
Amidst the wauing [3] sea,
Doth clime the top of mightie mast,
Full oft both night and day;

[1] So in MS. for *hated*. [2] *Marner* in MS.
[3] *Waing*, MS.

But yet at last, when happily
He come from ship to shore,
He seakes to saile againe as fresh
As erst he did before ;
So likwise I, which haue escapte
The brunts which I haue done,
Am euen as fresh to venter now,
As when I first begane ;
A nue aduenture this I seek,
Not hauing rune my race.
But who is this whome I behold
For to appeere in place?

FANCY.

God saue you, gentell Mr. Wit,
And send you good successe !

WIT.

Faire Daime, I thaink you hartly,
And wish in you no lesse.
What, may one be bolde to aske
Your name without offence?

FANCY.

Yea, sir, with good will that you may,
And eke my whole pretence :
My name is Fancy, and the cause
Of this my coming now
From lady Wisdome, is to showe
A message vnto you.

WIT.

Then are ye welcome vnto me,
For Lady Wisdomes sake.

FANCY.

Here is the letter which she bad
Me vnto you to take.

Here he receueth the letter, and readeth it to hisselfe.

WIT.

My ladyes will herein is this,
That you should goe with me
Vnto a place with her to meate,
As here she doth decree.

FANCY.

Euen so, good sir, euen when you will
I doe the same alowe;
Goe you before in at the dore,
And I will follow you.

Here WIT *going in, one shall pull him by the arme, whereupon he shall cry on this manner.*

WIT.

Alas, I am betrayed!
This sight makes me agast!

FANCY.

Nay, nay, no force, sir,
I charge you him fast:
Now, Wit, if that thou list
To match thyselfe with me,
Thou shalt be free as ere thou wast,
And now released be.

WIT.

Alas, I am not so;
Dame Wisdome hath my hart.

FANCY.

Then shalt thou lye there still,
I-wis vntell thou fealst the smart.

[*Exeunt.*

The Sixth Scena.

Enter IDLENIS.

This is a world to se how fortune chaungeth,
This shalbe his luck which like me rangeth,
and raingeth ;
For the honour of Artrebradle,
This age wold make me swere madly !
Giue me one peny or a halfepeny,
For a poore man that hath had
great losse by sea,
And is in great misery.
God saue my good master, and my good dame,
And all the householder !
I pray you bestowe your almes of a poore man
Nye starued with colde.
Now I am a bould begger,
I tell you, the stowtest of all my kin,
For if nobody will come out,
I will be so bolde to goe in !
Byrlady, here is nobody within,
But the cat by the fier side :
I must neads go in ; whatsoeuer
Come of it, I cannot abide.

He goeth on, and bringeth out the porridge pot about his neck.

A ! sirra, my masters, how saist thou, Hodge?
What, art thou hungrie? wilt thou eat my podge?
Now I prouide for a deare yeare,
This wilbe good in Lent;
Well faire a good messe of pottage,
When the herrings be spent.
A begger, quoth you, this yeare begines to ſadge.
If euer I be a gentellman,
The pottage bot shalbe my badge!
Now I am in that takin, I dare not
showe my hed;
And al be cossoning of Wit,
I am faine to beg my bred!
Well, my masters, fare you well,
I may perhaps haue a chek,
If the good wyfe come forth,
And take the pottage pot aboute my neck.

The Seventh Scena.

Enter DOLL *and* LOB.

DOLL.

O, the passion of God! so I shalbe swinged;
So, my bones shalbe bangd!
The poredge pot is stolne: what, Lob, I say,
Come away, and be hangd!
What, Lob, I say, come away with a foule euill!

LOB.

What a lobbing makest thou,
With a twenty Deuill!

DOLL.

Thou hast keept a goodly coile,
Thou whorsone hobling John!
Thou keepst a tumbling of me
In the barne, tell the poredge pot is gon.

LOB.

Nay, thou tumblest doine thy selfe,
And was almost beare;
Nay, I will tell my dame
How thou wolest neades.....[1]

DOLL.

Thou lyest, whorsonne, thou wilt
Be cudgeld, so thou wilt!

LOB.

Nay, good Doll, say the[2] porridge were
all spilt.

Heer entreth MOTHER BEE, *with a stick in her hand.*

MOTHER BEE.

What, where be these whorecops?
I promis you[3] keepe a goodly coyle;
I serue the hogs, I seeke heenes nest,
I moile and toyle!
Thainks be to God, gentlewoman,
Betwixt Jack and Jone,
When I come into breakfast,
All the potage is gone!

[1] Omitted as at p. 27.
[2] *The the*, MS.
[3] *You you*, MS.

I pray ye, mistris, where is the potage
Pot that is [1] hid away?

DOLL.

Whilest Lob was kissing me in the barne,
A knaue stole it away.

MOTHER BE.

Yea, Gods bones! one can scarce go to ....[2]
But my man and my maid
Doe straight fall to kissing.

Here she beateth them vp and downe the stage.

Are yea billing? what, my man Lob,
Is become a iolly ruffler;
You are billing, you! I must be faine
To be a snuffler.

LOB.

O, dame, dame, if you will beate me no more,
I will tell you a tale;
When I was at the towne,
One called you whore.

MOTHER BE.

A, whorsonne! thou callest me
Whore by craft;
Thou art a Kentish man, I trow.

LOB.

Why, Doll will not mend my breech;
How wold you haue me goe?

[1] *Is that*, MS.

[2] Omitted, as at p. 27.

DOLL.

He lyes, Dame, he lyes ; he teares it
Nether with plowing nor carting,
For it is not so sone mended,
But he teares it out with.....[1]

Enter INQUISITION, *bringing in* IDLENIS, *with the potage pot about his neck.*

MOTHER BE.

Soft, who haue we heare?
I am as glad
As one wold giue me a croune.
What haue I spied? byrlady! My
porredge pot is come to towne.

INQUISITION.

What, is this your pottage pot?
Doe you know it, if you se it?

MOTHER BE.

Whether it be mine or no,
He had it from my fier-side,
He cannot deny it. [*Exit* MOTHER BE.

LOB.

O, dame, dame, so I will girk him, if I
had my whip.
Sirra, Dol, we will accuse him of fellowship.

IDLENIS.

Lett me alone, and I will tell you
who stole your egges ;

[1] Omitted, *ut supra.*

And, lokwise, who stole your
coke with the yellow legges.

INQUISITION.

Well, we will haue him to a justice:
Dispach, come awaye!

LOB.

Yea, and lett him be whipte
Vp and downe the towne
next markit day. [*Goe out all.*

The Eighth Scena.

Enter GOOD NURTURE.

To them whose shoulders doe supporte
the charge of tender youth,
One greefe fales on anothers neck,
And youth will haue his rueth;
Since first I gane to nurture Wit,
Full many cares hath past,
But when he had slained Ircksomnis,
I thought me safe at last;
But now I se the very end
Of that my late distresse,
Is a begining vnto greefe,
Which wilbe nothing lesse:
For when I thought that Wit of late
To Wisdomes house had gone,
He came not there, but God knowes where
This retchlesse Witt is run.
Ne knowe I where to seeke him now,

Whereby I learne with paine
There is no greefe so fare gone past,
But may returne againe.

Here WIT *cryeth out in prison, and sayeth this.*

The silly bird once caught in net,
If she ascape aliue,
Will come no more so ny the snare,
Her fredome to depriue;
But rather she will leaue her haunt,
The which she vsed before;
But I, alas! when steede is stolin,
Doo shut the stable dore.
For being often caught before,
Yet could I not refraine;
More foolish then the witlis birde,
I came to hand againe.
Alas! the chaines oppresse me sore,
Wherewith I now am lad,
But yet the paine doth pinch me more,
Wherein my hart is clad!
O, mightie Joue, now grant
That some good man may passe this place,
By whose good helpe I might be brougth
Out of this wofull case!

GOOD NURTARE.

What noyse is this? what petious plaint
Are sounding in my eare?
My hart doth giue me it is Wit,
The which I now do heare.
I will drawe nere and see
What wight art thou, [*He commeth nere the prison.*
Which doost lament
And thus dost pine in paine.

WIT.

My name is Witt;
My greefe is greate,
How should I then refrane?

GOOD NURTARE.

What, Wit, how camest thou heare?
O God, what chaunce is this?

WIT.

Dame Fancy brought me in this case;
I know I did amis.

GOOD NURTURE.

What, Fancy? Where is she?
Oh, that I once might catch her.

WIT.

Wold God you could, or else some one,
That able weare to matche her;
But she no soner heard your voyce,
There standing at the dore,
Then she with all her folks hath fled,
And will be seene no more:
But I, poore sowle, ly here in chaines.

Here entreth and releaseth him GOOD NURTURE.

Once more I haue releast the of thy paines.

WIT.

Your most vnworthy schollard
Giues to you immortall thainks.

GOOD NURTURE.

I pray you now take better heed
You play no more such pranckes;
Pluck vp your sperits, your marige day
Is come euen at hand.
Tomorow Wisdome shall you wed,
I let you vnderstand.

WIT.

Right so as you think good,
I shall contented be.

GOOD NURTURE.

Then let vs goe for to prepare;
Come one, I say, with me! [*Exeunt.*

Enter IDLENIS *like a preest.*

A, sirra, my masters, there is much adoe,
When fortune is lowring;
O the passion of God! I haue escaped a scouring.
Here hath bin heaue and shoue,
This geere is not fit;
In faith, I haue lye in the lurch,
For coussing of Witt:
Now shall he be maried in all the haste;
When Wit and Wisdome is ioyned together,
Then I am reiected.
Well it I can shift elswhere,
So long as I am not detected.
Detected I cannot welbe,
I am of that condition,
That I cane turne into all

Coullers like the commillion.
Althought some doe refuse me,
And some leden heeled
Lubber will not refraine me.
And when men hath done with me,
Women will retaine me!
Idlenis, the say, is the mother of Wise;
Through Idlenis fell the Troynes,
And the Greekes wan the price.
Idlenis breedeth euell thoughts,
Whereof come il deeds:
Idlenis is a cockadill, and greate mischefe breeds.
I giue myselfe a good reporte,
My masters, you may think the best;
He that loueth me shall have smale
ioy of his rest.
King Amasis made a lawe,
And bownd his subiectes to it fast,
To giue an acount whereupon
They liued the yeare last past;
And if any liued idlely,
Without any regard,
The punishmient was greuious
Thay did him award:
But now I can escape from all such perrill,
And play the perueier
Here in earth for the Deuell.
Well, my masters, I must be gone,
this marige to se;
Thay that list not to work,
Let them follow me. [*Exit.*

The x. Scena.

Enter SEUERITIE *and* WIT.

SEUERITIE.

Well now, soone Witt,
The proofe is plaine;
The cloudes were nere so black,
But the brightnis of the sone
At last might put them back.
The wind did neuer blowe so much,
Where with the barke was tore,
But that the wether was so calme
To bring the ship to shore.
The dainger now is past,
Adresse thyselfe with speede
To meete with Wisdome, thy deere wyfe,
As we before decreede.

WIT.

It shalbe done as dutie binds,
And as I bounden stand;
But se, good father, now behold,
Dame Wisdome is at hand.

Enture GOOD NURTURE *and* WISDOME, *and* WISDOME *and* WIT *singeth this song.*

WISDOME.

My joye hath ouergrowen my greefe,
My cure is past,
For Fortune hath bin my releſe
Now at last!

Tantara tara tantara,
My husband is at hand!
His comly grace appeeres in place,
As I doe vnderstand.

WIT.

My lady, thrise welcome to me,
Mine onely ioy!
The gentellnis, God giue it the
Without annoy.
Tantara tara tantara,
Welcome, my worthy wyfe!
Thou art my parte, thine is my hart,
My blessed lim of life!

WISDOME.

As dutie doth bind according to kind,
I thainke ye much;
Thy wife forthe will spend her life,
She will not gruch.
Tantara tara tantara,
The summe of all my blisse;
The welcomest wight, my cheefe delight,
That shalbe and that is.

WIT.

Let me thy comly corpes imbrace,
Dere Wisdome, now.

WISDOME.

Good Wit, I alwaies loued the place
To be with you;
Tantara tara tantara,
Thou hast my hart in hold.

WIT.

Ne doe I faine, but tell the plane,
I am thy owne, behold.

Here indeth the song.

GOOD NURTURE.

Well, now I am right glad
To se you both well met.

SEUERITIE.

And so am I, with all my hart,
That thay so sure are set.

BOTH.

We thaink ye both right humbly.

WIT.

And wish to mary speedyly.

WISDOME.

For why, allthough the turtle long
Ware parted from her mate.

WIT.

Now God be thainked, thay are met
In good and happy state;
The Lord be thainked for his grace,
Which gaue the vnto me:
Then welcome nothing in heuen or earth,
More welcommer can be.

WISDOME.

And you to me, dere Wit.

SEUERITIE.

Come, now the time requires
That we departe away
To celebrate the nuptiales
With joy, this wedding-day!

WIT.

Goe you before, my father deare,
And you, good master, straight,
And then both I and Wisdome to
Vpon you will awaite.

[*Goe forth all.*

Enter Epilogus.

Thus haue you seene, good audience,
And hurd the course of youth;
And who so list to try the same,
Shall find it for a truth.
And if this simple showe
Hath happined for to halt,
Your parden and your patience
We craue in our default:
For though the stile be rough,
And phryses found vnfit,
Yet may you say vpon the hed
The very naile is hit!
Wherefore the morrell marke,
For Finis lett it passe,
And Wit may well and worthy
Then vse it for a glasse,
Whereby for to essue his foes
That alwaies doe awaight him,
And neuer haing vpon the huck,
Where with thay seek to baite him.
Thus if you follow fast,
[You] will be quite from thrall,
[And] eke in joye an heuenly blisse;
The which God graunt vs all!

Amen, quoth FRA: MERBURY.

Finis.

NOTES.

Page 3, line 1. Contract.] I should have added Mr. Larking's interpretation of this word, which is nearly defaced in the MS., is confirmed as far as possible by the portions of the letters still visible.

Page 3, line 7. Neuer before imprinted.] It is a question whether this MS. was copied from a printed book, or is in itself a copy prepared for the press. No printed edition of this play is known to be extant.

Page 5, line 9. The.] So in MS. for *that?*

Page 5, line 16. Wel fauurt with leuitie.] This line is very obscure in the MS., and I am afraid it is wrongly printed, but no one whom I have asked has been able to unravel the obscurity. Mr. Collier, without seeing the original, conjectures "wel fraught with lenitie."

Page 6, line 10. That Wisdome] *Is the wight?* See page 8, line 22.

Page 8, line 15. Ye.] Perhaps an error for *he.* I have followed the reading of the manuscript.

Page 9, line 13. Thay.] An error for *thou?*

Page 10, line 10. Commest.] *Comnest* in MS. The original abounds in clerical errors of this description, which I have in many cases silently corrected, believing that a note in every instance would be considered quite unnecessary.

Page 10, line 26. Al-to] Altogether, entirely, excessively. Previous to the sixteenth century, the *to* was a prefix to the verb, conveying power, or deterioration.

"Mervayle no whit, my heartes delight, my only knight and fere,
Mercutious ysy hande had *all-to* frozen myne,
And of thy goodness thou agayne hast warmed it with thyne."

Romeus and Juliet, ed. Collier, p. 14.

Page 11, line 9. To.] That is, two.

Page 12, line 11. Geare.] Matter; business.

Page 12, line 14. The vice.] So much has been written on this character by Mr. Collier and other writers, that it may seem superfluous to say more than that the vice was the buffoon of the old moral plays which succeeded the Reformation. In the following very curious account of an interlude, written against the Roman Catholics at the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, the Vice seems described in the character of Solace. It is taken from MS. Bibl. Reg., 7 C., xvi., fol. 169.

The copie of the nootes of the interluyde.

"In the firste entres come in Solaice, whose parte was but to make mery, sing ballettes with his fellowes, and drinke at the interluydes of the play, whoe shewede firste to all the audiaunce the playe that he played, whiche was a generall thing, meanyng nothing in speciall to displeas noe man, prayng therfor noe man to be angre with the same. Nexte come in a king, whoe passed this throne, having noe speche to thende of the playe, and thene to raitefie and approve, as in playne parliament, all thinges doon by the reste of the players, whiche represented the three estes. Withe hym come his courtiours, Placebo, Pikthanke, and Flaterye, and suche a lik garde, one swering he was the lusticste, starkeste, best proporcioned, and moste valiaunte man that ever was; another swear he was the beste with longe bowe, crosebowe, and culverein in the world; another swear he was the beste juster and man of armes in the world, and soe furthe, during thair partes. Therafter came a man armed in harnes, withe a swerd drawen in his hande, a busshope, a burges man, and Experience, clede like a doctour, whoe sete thaym all down on the deis under the king. After thayme come a poor man, whoe did goe upe and downe the scaffald, making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed throughe the courtiours taking his fewe in one place, and alsoe his tackes in another place, where throughe he hade scayled his house, his wif and childeren beggyng thaire brede, and soe of many thousound in Scotlande, whiche wolde make the kynges grace lose of men if his grace stod neide, saying thaire was noe remedye to be gotten, for thoughe he wolde snyte to the kinges grace, he was naither acquaynted with controuller nor treasourer, and withoute thaym, myght noe man gete noe godenes of the king; and after he spered for the king,

and whene he was shewed to the man that was king in the playe, he aunswered and said he was noe king, for ther is but one King, whiche made all and governethe all, whoe is eternall, to whome he and all erthely kinges ar but officers, of the whiche thay muste mak recknynge, and soe furthe, muche moor to that effecte. And then he loked to the king, and saide he was not the King of Scotlande, for ther was another king in Scotlande, that hanged John Armestrang with his fellowes, and Sym the Larde, and many other moe, which had pacified the countrey, and stanched thefte, but he had lefte one thing undon, whiche perteynede as well to his charge as thayres. And whene he was asked what that was, he made a longe narracion of the oppression of the poor, by the taking of the corsepresa unte beistes, and of the herying of poor men by concistorye lawe, and of many other abussions of the spirituall and churche, withe many long stories and auctorities. Thene the Busshope roise and rebuked hym, saying it effered not to hym to speake suche matiers, commaunding hym seilence, or elles to suffer dethe for it by thair lawe. Therafter roise the man of armes, alledginge the contrarie, and commaunded the poor man to speake, saying thair abusion hade been over longe suffered withoute any lawes. Thene the poor man shewed the greate abusion of busshoppes, prelettes, abbotes, reving menes wifes and doughters, and holdyng thaym, and of the maynteynyng of thair childer, and of thair over bying of lordes and barrons eldeste sones to their doughters, wher thoroughe the nobilitie of the blode of the realme was degenerate, and of the greate superfluous rentes that perteyned to the churche by reason of over muche temporall landes given to thaym, whiche thaye proved that the kinge might take boothe by the canon lawe, and civile lawe, and of the greate abomynable vices that reingne in clostures, and of the common bordelles that was keped in clostures of nunneries. All this was provit by experience; and also was shewed thoffice of a busshope, and producit the Newe Testament with the auctorities to that effecte; and thene roise the man of armes, and the burges, and did saye that all that was producit by the poor man, and Experience was reasonable of veritie, and of greate effecte, and verey expedient to be reafourmede withe the consent of parliament; and the Busshope said he wold not consent therunto. The man of armes and burges saide thay were twoe, and he bot one, wherfor thair voice shuld have mooste effecte.

Theraftire the king in the playe ratefied, approved and confermed all that was rehersed."

Page 12, line 17. Wen.] Ween; think.

Page 12, line 25. I can eate, &c.] This line ought to be printed, "I can eate tell I sweate, and &c."

Page 13, line 1. Litherlurden.] An old jocular term for *idleness*. It occurs in Lydgate.

Page 13, line 6. I wis.] That is, I know. In earlier works, this would be the adverb *i-wis*. It is no doubt an error to consider the latter meant by writers of the sixteenth century.

Page 13, line 15. Harlowe-bery.] Most likely left to the players, according to the place where the piece was to be acted.

Page 13, line 24. Counterfait crainke.] According to the canting dictionaries, a person who asks charity, and feigns sickness and disease. See *Earle's Microcosmography*, ed. 1811, p. 249.

Page 13, line 29. Soft fier makes swet malt.] This proverb also occurs in Ralph Royster Doyster, ed. 1818, p. 11; Gascoigne's Workes, p. 360.

Page 13, line 30. Firme.] Read *faine*.

Page 13, line 31. Broune stodie.] So Ben Jonson—

"Faith, this *brown study* suits not with your black,
Your habit and your thoughts are of two colours."

Jonson, ed. *Gifford*, vol. vi., p. 378.

Page 14, line 27. As gentell, &c.] Compare Shakespeare—

"Hist! Romeo, hist! O, for a falconer's voice
To lure this tercel-gentle back again!"

Collier's Shakespeare, vol. vi., p. 412.

Page 15, line 21. Swinke.] Labour; work.

Page 16, line 1. And.] That is, if. *And if* is also often used in the same sense. See line 14.

Page 16, line 16. A mother, Wit.] Read, "a mother-wit."

"A graue discreet gentleman hauing a comely wife, whose beauty and free behauiour did draw her honesty into suspition, by whom hee had a sonne almost at mans estate, of very dissolute and wanton carriage: I muse, said one, that a man of such stayd and modcrate grauity should haue a sonne of such a contrary and froward disposition. Sir, reply'd

another, the reason is that his pate is stuffed with his *Mothers wit*, that there is no roome for any of his father's wisedome: besides, the lightnesse of her heeles is gotten into her sonnes braines."—*Taylor's Wit and Mirth*, 1630, p. 185.

Page 17, line 4. Luck.] That is, look.

Page 17, line 5. In the church booke.] An allusion to the system of parish registers, which was a novelty in those days.

Page 17, line 19. To witt.] That is, to know.

Page 18, line 24. I.] Ay, or yes.

Page 18, line 25. Bere all the charge.] Idleness of course means he will palm off his illegitimate child as Wit's, and make the latter pay for its maintenance.

Page 19, line 3. A kist.] That is, have kist. *A* for *have* is still common in the provinces, and is constantly so employed by our old dramatists.

Page 19, line 6. To desier you of more acquaintance.] That is, to be better acquainted. "I shall desire you of more acquaintance, good Master Cobweb," Midsummer Night's Dream, act iii., scene 1.

Page 19, line 9. A ought.] Perhaps, *in ought*.

Page 19, line 25. To the rop.] Meaning, to the gallows.

Page 20, line 23. Colling.] That is, blacking. Hence is derived the term *collier*. Shakespeare has—

"Swift as a shadow, short as any dream;
Brief as the lightning in the *collied* night."

Midsummer Night's Dream, act i., sc. i.

Page 21, line 10. Doddy.] That is, a blockhead.

"Thus by her scole
Made hym a fole,
And called hym *dody pate;*
So from his thryfte
She dyd hym lyfte,
And therof creste the date."

Boke of Mayd Emlyn, p. 19.

Page 21, line 17. Colliar.] Alluding to her having blackened the face of Wit. See above.

Page 22, line 10. Home.] That is, whom.

Page 22, line 11. Softe.] A common exclamation in old plays. It seems to have been introduced in the fifteenth century.

Page 24, line 5. Rig.] Wanton, bad woman.

Page 24, line 10. Cog.] To play the cheat.

Page 24, line 11. Wethercoke of Poles.] Alluding to the weathercock on St. Paul's cathedral.

Page 24, line 14. The catt in the pane.] To turn the cat in the pan, i.e., to be a turncoat. An old writer gives the following absurd origin of the phrase — "*Catipan*, to turn *catipan*, from a people called *Catipani*, in Calabria and Apulia, who got an ill name by reason of their perfidy; very falsely by us called *cat in pan*."

"Our fine Phylosopher, our trimme learned elfe,
Is gone to see as false a spie as himselfe.
Damon smatters as well as he of craftie pilosophie,
And can *tourne cat in the panne* very pretily:
But Carisophus hath given him such a mightie checke,
As I thinke in the ende will breake his necke.

Damon and Pithias, p. 206.

Page 24, line 16. The outlandish man.] Foreign physicians were much esteemed in England in Queen Elizabeth's time. A character in the Return from Parnassus, 1606, says, "We'll gull the world that hath in estimation forraine phisitians." This part of our interlude may fairly be considered an illustration of the character of Dr. Caius in the Merry Wives of Windsor.

Page 25, line 7. Moyle.] Labour or drudge.

Page 25, line 8. Coyle.] Noise; tumult. "Here's a coil with a lord and his sister." Amends for Ladies, p. 37.

Page 25, line 12. Pilling and poling.] Robbing and plundering.

Page 26, line 16. A cadowe.] That is, a jackdaw. "*Nodulus* is also for a *cuddow*, or dawe." Withal's Dictionarie, 8vo., 1608, p. 87. The term is still in use in the Eastern counties.

Page 27, line 14. God a mercy horse.] A slang expression, the exact force of which it is somewhat difficult to define. Its origin is attempted to be accounted for in Tarlton's Jests, p. 24.

Page 27, line 27. *Oculus.*] In the MS. it is *ovulus*, which is of course an error.

Page 28, line 2. John Tapsters.] The innkeeper's.

Page 28, line 9. Commist.] Committed.

Page 28, line 11. Euell gotten worse spent.] This proverb occurs

in an early MS. in the Museum, Harl. 2321, fol. 147, and is not yet obsolete.

Page 29, line 23. This geer cottons.] That is, this matter or business goes on prosperously.

"And all have their inscriptions—here's *cock-a-hoop*,
This *The gear cottens*, and this *Faint heart never*."

The Inner-Temple Masque, p. 150.

Page 30, line 2. Be Gis.] A profane oath.

"By Gis, and by Saint Charity,
Alack, and fie for shame!
Young men will do't, if they come to't;
By cock, they are to blame."

Hamlet, act iv., sc. 5.

Page 30, line 30. Lin.] That is, cease.

"Her husband, a recusant, often came
To hear mass read, nor would he ever *lin*."

Billingsley's Brachy-Martyrologia, 1657, p. 200.

Page 31, line 3. Crose.] A piece of money.

Page 31, line 17. It.] That is, yet.

Page 33, line 6. The whorson patch.] That is, fool. "Thou scurvy patch," Tempest, act iii., sc. 2.

Page 33, line 10. Theaues.] *Theaes* in the manuscript.

Page 33, line 24. This seuen yeer.] A common phrase of the time. It occurs in Much Ado about Nothing, act iii., sc. 3, "a vile thief this seven year." See also King Lear, act iii., scene 4: 2 Henry VI., act ii., scene 1.

Page 34, line 6. Is.] Perhaps it should be *it is*.

Page 34, line 14. A puttock] A kite.

"O bless'd, that I might not! I chose an eagle,
And did avoid a *puttock*."

Cymbeline, act i., sc. 2.

Page 35, line 15. Wite.] Wight, person.

Page 35, line 21. No force.] No matter.

Page 35, line 25. To-to goo.] So in the original; but we should read *to-to good*, as the rhyme proves. The word *too-too* here, as in many other instances, denotes *excessive* or *excessively*, although the provincial use of the term is said to be *exceedingly*, a sense it also bears in

early writers. It is often nothing more than a strengthening of the word *too*. "*Too-too*, used absolutely for very well or good." Ray's Collection of English Words, 12mo., London, 1674, p. 49. Shakespeare has the word in his Merry Wives of Windsor, act ii., sc. 2—"I could drive her then from the ward of her purity, her reputation, her marriage vow, and a thousand other her defences, which now are *too-too* strongly embattled against me." We here have Shakespeare using the term in the sense in which it is constantly employed by our early writers, both as an adjective and an adverb; and in another place I endeavoured to show that this is the same which occurs in Hamlet, act i., sc. 2, generally printed as two distinct words. Mr. Baverstock, however, complains of the "innovation." I have desired no innovation, further than warranted by the discovery of truth: for I merely wished to *restore* the text to its original purity as it came from the bard's own hand, and I believe no argument of the nature of that employed by Mr. Baverstock can prevail against the enormous weight of philological evidence I have collected, *confirmed by other instances in Shakespeare's own works, where Mr. Baverstock's reasoning would entirely fail.* This is no "fresh idea" concerning Shakespeare. I have stated distinctly, I leave the author's sense as I found it. All I contend for is, that *too-too* is essentially one word; that it is several times so recognized by Shakespeare; and that no editor can be philologically justified in dividing it into two. "Oh! that this *too-too* solid flesh would melt," i.e., this *excessive* solid flesh, or *too excessive* solid flesh. The whole line requires a slow recital, and there is nothing in my "innovation," when calmly considered, which detracts from the beauty or force of the passage.

Mr. Baverstock evidently regards my discovery of the existence of *too-too* as an independent word in early writers one which had been far better concealed, if it is to be applied to the passage in Hamlet. On this point I will not enter into any disputation; but the merit of the discovery, whatever it may be, and I am not by any means disposed to rate it too-too highly, is my own. I first made it public very early in 1843, in the notes to the First Sketches of King Henry the Sixth, p. 196, and, let me add, without any ostentation. In 1845 appeared the second volume of Mr. Hunter's New Illustrations, and at p. 218 I found the conclusions to which I had previously arrived inserted as new to "the whole body of writers on English philology," without any allusion to

my former note. On a subject of such very small importance, it is unnecessary to offer any further comment. The following additional examples are recommended to the reader's notice as fully confirmatory of the view I have taken on the meaning and force of the word *too-too*—

There is another pride which I must touch,
It is so bad, so base, so *too-too* much.

Taylor's Superbiæ Flagellum, p. 37.

Her taile was *too-too* large for him to tread,
He *too-too* little her to ouer-spread.

Scot's Philomythie, 1616, Sig. D. ii.

That's all one, my fair, sweet, honey monarch; for, I protest, the school-master is exceeding fantastical; *too-too* vain; *too-too* vain; but we will put it, as they say, to *fortuna della guerra*. I wish you the peace of mind, most royal couplement.

Love's Labour's Lost, act v. sc. 2.

——This reign
Is *too-too* unsupportable.

Ben Jonson, ed. Gifford, vol. v. p. 89.

He is dogged, but discreet. I cannot tell how sharpe, with a kind of sweetnes; full of wit, yet *too-too* wayward.

Lilly's Sixe Court Comedies, ed. 1632, Sig. H. x.

I awoke, and then I knew
What love said was *too-too* true.

Herrick's Works, vol. ii., p. 27.

And yet there's *too-too* many I doe know,
Whose hearts with this foule poyson over-flow.

Wither's Abuses, p. 43.

And therewith he is a great enemy to sinne and vice, whiche now raigneth *too-too* much amongst al estates and degrees.—*Northbrooke's Treatise*, 1577.

Both a light one and a Levite
There I viewed; *too-too* aged.

Barnaby's Journal.

Nor wash'd in ocean, as from Rome he pass'd
To Britain's isle; *too-too* conspicuous there.

Young's Night Thoughts, p. 303.

Furthermore, I have ben, my girle, a lawier *to-too* long,
If at a pinche I cannot wrest the law from right to wrong.
Historie of Promos and Cassandra, p. 37.

O Leard, Learde, cham sicke: my belly akes *too-too*.
Ibid. p. 56.

Lycoris, to the gods thou art too dear,
And *too-too* much of heaven belov'd I fear.
Randolph's Poems, 1643, p. 12.

You guesse the meaning. *Too-too* well.
Randolph's Jealous Lovers, p. 19.

——But here's a witnesse
Of *too-too* certain truth stands up against her.
Randolph, Ibid. p. 21.

All I can find is losse! O *too-too* wretched!
Randolph's Amyntas, ed. 1640, p. 82.

Without the first the last may not be had;
Yet to the first the last is *too-too* bad.
Ashmole's Theat. Chem. Brit. 1652, p. 335.

She weeps and takes on *too-too*.
The Coxcomb, act iii., sc. 2.

My brothers mind is base, and *too-too* dull
To mount where Philip lodgeth his affects.
Troublesome Raigne of King John, p. 230.

Least beeing *too-too* forward in the cause,
It may be blemish to my modestie.
Ibid. p. 244.

Eschancrer, to eat, as a canker, into; also, to cut or make hollow, and halfe-round; also, to pare very neere, nip off *too-too* neere. — *Cotgrave's Dictionarie*, 1632.

Too-too forgetful of thine own affairs,
Why wilt thou betray thy son's good hap?
Marlowe's Dido, act v., sc. 1.

Aye, but he'll come again; he cannot go;
He loves me *too-too* well to serve me so.
Ibid. act v. sc. 2.

And *too-too* well the fair vermilion knew.
Hero and Leander, p. 334.

The cold of wo hath quite untun'd my voice,
And made it *too-too* harsh for list'ning ear.

Return from Parnassus, act v., sc. 1.

Your father says, my state is *too-too* low.

Wily Beguiled, ap. Hawkins, p. 340.

Hard-hearted gods, and *too-too* envious fates,
Thus to cut off my father's fatal thread.

Tragedy of Locrine, p. 10.

Ay me, my virgin's hands are *too-too* weak
To penetrate the bulwark of my breast.

Ibid. p. 56.

And when too old to liue, yet fate drawes nigh,
Our loue shall make vs *too-too* young to die.

Porter's Madrigales, 1632.

And albeit I cannot, being *too-too* much abused by some that haue beereft me of my notes in this behalfe, bring my purpose to passe.—*Harrison's Description of Britaine*, p. 108.

But of such writers as we haue *too-too* manie, so among the said rable Geruase of Tilberie is not the least famous.—*Ibid.* p. 129.

But, alas, their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appeered herin *too-too* much.—*Ibid.* p. 193.

And as these haue beene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places *too-too* much abused.—*Ibid.* p. 202.

But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are *too-too* lewd in abusing such as buie them.—*Ibid.* p. 220.

In suche moste greuous tyrannycall sorte,
That *to-to* shamefull weare heere to reporte.

British Bibliographer, vol. iv., p. 205.

Rome puffes us up, and makes us *too-too* fierce.

Misfortunes of Arthur, act iii.. sc. 1.

They made much of themselves; yea, *too-too* much.

Ibid. act v., sc. 1.

Then would I tell her she were *too-too* base,
To doat thus on a banish'd, carelesss groom.

Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon, p. 31.

I do not lie; you wot it *too-too* well,
The deed was such as you may shame to tell.

Ibid. p. 39.

Oh, Ely, thou to him wert *too-too* cruel!

Ibid. p. 45.

Pray hold there; I know it *too-too* well.
The tokens and the letters I have still.

A Woman is a Weathercock, p. 29.

I know he loves me *too-too* heartily
To be suspitious or to prove my truth.

Amends for Ladies, act ii., sc. 2.

But honest fear, bewitch'd with lust's foul charm,
Doth *too-too* oft betake him to retire,
Beaten away by brainsick rude desire.

Rape of Lucrece, *ap. Collier*, p. 420.

By *too-too* much Dan Crœsus caught his death,
And bought with bloud the price of glittering gold;
By *too-too* litle many one lacks breath,
And striues in streetes a mirroure to behold.

Deuises of Sundrie Gentlemen, p. 357.

If so thy wyfe be *too-too* fayre of face,
It drawes one guest too manie to thyne inne.

Ibid. p. 358.

I loath the *too-too* easy field,
Alike with her that nere will yield.

R. Fletcher's Poems, p. 8.

Page 37, line 6. Plaste.] Placed.

Page 39, line 6. Fulmers.] Polecats. "I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weasell, stote, *fulmart*, squirrill, fitchew, and such like." — *Harrison's Description of England*, p. 225. The term is still in use in the North of England.

Page 39, line 23. Moyling.] Work; bother.

Page 41, line 12. Hargubushere.] A person who carried a harquebuss, an old-fashioned musket. "*Espingardier*, an harguebuzier, or small shot."—*Cotgrave.*

Page 43, line 15. A royall.] Puns were frequently made by our old dramatists on the name of this coin.

Page 45, line 18. A morin.] That is, a murrain. A similar oath occurs in Coriolanus, act i., sc. 5.

Page 48, line 22. You him.] *You hold him?*

Page 49, line 24. Byrlady.] That is, by our lady! A common interjection in early plays.

Page 50, line 2. Podge.] Porridge, or hodge-podge; any miscellaneous mixture of food.

Page 50, line 7. Fadge.] To suit, or agree.

> Then John, and Joane, and Madge,
> Were call'd the merry crew:
> That with no drinke could *fadge*,
> But where the fat they knew.
>
> *Friar Bakon's Prophesie*, 1604.

Page 50, line 21. Swinged.] Whipped; beaten.

Page 50, line 27. Lobbing.] Tumult; uproar.

Page 50, line 28. With a twenty deuill.]

> Come in, wiffe, in twentye devilles waye!
> Or elles stand their all day.
>
> *Chester Plays*, vol. i., p. 53.

Page 51, line 19. Whorecops.] Bastards. This term occurs in the Prompt. Parv., p. 246, spelt *horcop;* and in Gesta Romanorum, p. 432, the editor not having met with the term elsewhere. It is, however, sufficiently common. "Horcop, *pelinguus*," Nominale MS. "The whorecop is plaguily well lov'd in our town," Peele's Works, vol. iii., p. 92, not understood by Mr. Dyce. See further examples in my Dictionary of Archaisms, in v.

Page 52, line 12. Ruffler.] A rogue; properly, one who pretends to be a maimed soldier or sailor.

Page 52, line 14. Snuffler.] A highwayman, according to the canting dictionaries.

Page 53, line 9. Soft, who haue we heare.] A similar phrase occurs in Coriolanus, act i., sc. 1.

Page 53, line 22. Girk.] Whip, or flog. The word is much more usually spelt *jerk*.

Page 54, line 27. Retchlesse.] Reckless. A common form of the word in early writers.

Page 55, line 12. Doo shut the stable dore.]

The steede was stollen before I shut the gate,
The cates consumd before I smelt the feast.

Deuises of Sundrie Gentlemen, p. 341.

Page 55, line 28. Giue.] Tell, confess, or grant.

Page 58, line 17. Amasis.] A king of Egypt, who made a law that every one should yearly give account to the government how he lived, and in default, to be put to death.

Page 60, line 1. Tantara tara tantara.] A Latin song with this burden occurs in MS. Harl. 7371.

Early Illustrations

of

Shakespeare

and

The English Drama.

EARLY ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SHAKESPEARE AND THE DRAMA.

The interlude printed for the first time in the preceding pages is so short, and the necessary illustrations by notes occupy so small a space, that it may not perhaps be considered out of place to add some new information respecting our early drama and Shakespeare; the more especially as there are objections to the publication of another text, which could not be considered an appropriate adjunct to the Dering Manuscript. In so doing we can scarcely be accused of following the plan of Hearne's heterogeneous collections; for, although the periods to which our fragments relate vary, they will in no instance be found inconsistent with what may naturally be looked for in any publication of the Shakespeare Society.

SECTION I. SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST.

I have recently purchased an old chap-book, which I do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere, and I think worthy of a brief description. It contains a prose story, apparently founded on the Tempest, although professing on the title-page to be translated from the French. The title runs thus—"The Force of Nature; or, the Loves of Hippollito and

Dorinda, a romance, translated from the French original, and never before printed in English," *Northampton, Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, over against All Saints Church*, 1720. *Price three Pence.* 12mo, pp. 29, inclusive of title, and last page blank. An extract from the commencement of it will suffice.

The most Renowned History of Prospero, Duke of Milan.

In the dukedom of Milan, there sometime reigned a most noble duke called Prospero, who had a brother, named Antonio, to whom he trusted the manage of his state; he himself being for the most part wrapt up in secret studies—not in the least surmising that his brother would ever throw off the name, and chuse that of an usurper, for the sake of his dominions. But the false Antonio having obtained the craft of granting suits and of denying them, of advancing and deposing, and being prompted on by wild Ambition, wak'd in his soul an evil nature, and began to suppose himself the duke, because he executed the outward face of sovereignty; and at last made that traiterous thought so natural to him, that he resolv'd it should be real: and to this end confederated with the Duke of Savoy, (who was an inveterate enemy to Prospero,) promising him tribute, and to do him homage, if he would constitute him Duke of Milan in the room of his brother: to which Savoy consenting, Antonio, in the dead of the night, (as they had secretly agreed,) open'd to him the gates of Milan; and hurry'd the lawful duke to Savoy, and with him two young princesses, his daughters, the eldest named Miranda, and the youngest Dorinda, who were the dear pledges of their father's former love, and the pretty remembrancers to him of a lady, who in her life-time was all vertue; as also an infant call'd Hippolito, the right heir to the dukedom of Mantua, whose father dying, bequeath'd him (but three years old) to the care of Prospero, and who, by Antonio's cruelty, was expos'd to the same fate as that much-wronged duke.

When they arriv'd at Savoy they were put aboard a vessel at Nissa, of which Gonzalo, a nobleman of Savoy, was appointed master, who bore them out some leagues to sea, where there was a rotten carcase of a boat prepared for their reception, without either rigging, tackle, sail, or mast. However, Gonzalo, knowing the duke was an entire lover of his books, was so generous as to furnish him (but from his own library) with some books which he set a value on, as also some rich garments, which afterwards stood these royal exiles in good stead. They had also a small quantity of food, and some fresh water. And thus they were left to the mercy of the waves, which proving greater than that of his unnatural brother, they were at length thrown on an island uninhabited save only by two brats, which Sicorax, a most damn'd witch, who had been banish'd from Argier to that desolate place for manifold mischiefs and sorceries, too terrible for human hearing, had litter'd there. These two freckled, hag-born wretches were named, the male, Caliban, and the female, Sicorax. On this island was the noble duke and his innocent companions thrown.

What shall Prospero do now? He knows he is upon enchanted ground, and has no hopes of any succour from the two confounded and poisonous brats of this old deceased hag: he had magick sufficient, however, to defend himself from their insults, and even to punish them for whatever affronts they should offer—for he was a man of most occult study, and had penetrated into the very pith of sorcery; yet, he thought it more advisable to endeavour to bring that accurs'd slave over to his service by fair and courteous means. So, having lodg'd his two infant daughters in a cave which he himself had accommodated for them, and hous'd Hippolito in a rock at some distance from their cell, for a reason which you will hear in the sequel, he left them, and went in search of the monster, whom, having found, he us'd all gentle means to bring to his lure. He strok'd and made much of him, gave him to taste of some rich cordials which he had brought with

him, taught him to name the sun and the moon, and by these means excited in that wretched creature a love towards him so that he shew'd him all the qualities of the Isle, as the fresh springs, fertile places, &c. And Prospero, to requite this gratitude of the slave, took pains to make him speak — for before this he was savage, and could only gabble—and to defend him from the inclemency of the weather, lodg'd him in his own cell; till, on a time, this filthy slave, Prospero being absent, attempted to dishonour his two fair daughters, who were now grown to maturity, having been twelve years upon this desart Isle. But the duke returning before the brutal villain could accomplish his accurs'd intent, and, being inform'd of what Caliban had attempted, he, by the strong power of his art, pent him up in a rock, afflicting him with cramps and side-stiches, causing the urchins to suck his blood, and the bees to sting him, and fill'd his bones with such aches that he would often roar so hideously that the very beasts trembled at the noise he made. Besides this, he deservedly made him his slave, to fetch wood, make fires, and serve in the most drudging offices, still punishing him in the abovesaid manner, whenever he neglected the least tittle of what he had commanded. Thus the monster not being contented with the happiness that he might have enjoy'd in a quiet subordination, was oblig'd to put up with a slavery which he could not avoid, as a punishment he had justly deserv'd.

The compiler of this story seems to have made use of Dryden's alteration of the Tempest; but still it is a curious fact to ascertain that, at a period which may be regarded as the dawn of our appreciation of the poet's genius, a chap-book was founded on one of his plays, and no doubt sold by itinerant dealers throughout the country.

SECTION II. CURIOUS DRAMATIC MANUSCRIPT.

Understanding that there existed in the library of an ancient family in the East of England an early MS. containing plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, I made further inquiries, and was favoured with a sight of the volume. It is of no great antiquity, but may furnish important readings, as it contains hitherto unknown copies of the following plays— 1, The Inconstant Lady, or, Better Late than Never; 2, The Lovers' Hospital; 3, The Woman's Prize; 4, The Lost Ladie, a Tragi-Comedy; 5, The Beggar's Bush; Hengist, King of Kent. The last one commences as follows:—

Ray. What Raynulph Munck of Chester can
Raise from his Policronicron,
That raised him, as works doe men,
(To see light so long parted with agen)
That best may please this round faire ring
With sparkleing iudgm^{ts} circled in
Shall produce, if all my power[s]
Can wyn the grace of too poore howres:
Well apaide I goe to rest,
Ancient storyes have bene best,
Fashions that are now called new
Have bene worne by more then yo^{w};
Elder times haue vs'd y^{e} same,
Though these new ones get y^{e} name,
So in story whats now told
That takes not part with days of old?
Then to prove times mutuall glorye
ioyne new times love to old times storye. *Exit.*

SECTION III. THE MARRIAGE OF THE ARTS.

Wood relates an anecdote concerning Holiday's play of Τεχνογαμια, quoted in the Biog. Dramat., p. 356. The following collection of verses, which is taken from a MS. at Middlehill, No. 9569, written in 1638, confirms Wood's anecdote, and well merits preservation. Holiday's play was printed in 1610, and was several times republished.

Verses uppon C[hrist] C[hurch] play, made by Mr. Holliday, acted before the King at Woodstocke.

To hope, Holliday? Why then 'twill nere be better.
Why, all the guard, that never knew a letter
But that uppon ther coates, whose witt consists
In Archyes bobs and Garretts sawcy jeasts,
Deride our Christ-Church steaves, and sweare that they
Never kept doore to such a midnight play.
Why, Cambridge Dolman pitcht beyond it farre,
It fell two barres short of "Albumazar."
Besides, they feasted with an henne that night,
Wherein the Lord Vicechancellor used ther might;
Now both ther gutts were empty, and ther eare
Could nether caufe nor noyse of laughter heare.
Our hobby horse came short of thers, but yet
Wee did excell them in one flash of witt.
Wee had an ape, forsooth, bare three yeares old,
Could doe more tricks then Colle Westons could:
A most fine ape, God is my rightfull judge!
An excellent ape, could leape and skipp and trudge,
Lye still, or caper: O, prodigious bowtes,
An active ape, and yet composed of clowtes!
Why, how now, sawcy groomes? goe meddle with
Your barre and holdberts, scowre your rusty teeth
In the remainder of the last killd sceere,
And wash your nasty throats in Woodstock beere.

Do you deride his worth? Who dares uphold yee?
Be husht no more, and say a frend hath told yee;
Else hele in fury come, you naked stripp,
And scourge you with a sixteene knotted whipp.
Doe you not know that all this was begott?
I speake my conscience wher it was his lott
To bee at truce with study, that this mirth
At first edition was but five weekes birth—
Yet not abortive. Sett an higher prize
Uppon his workes; at least, let not your vice
Make an acute bad comment; that which wee
Object as grosse was his best propertye.
A poet's a creator, and 'tis more
To make an ape, then teach one made before.
This answered, thinke you heard your captaine say
Silence, or else you shall not eate to day.
See, now they are gonne: but see, more anger yet,
Thers one hath beggd monopolyes of witt;
Fastidious briske the courtier: see, it grinneth;
It made a ballad, and it doth beginne with.
It is not full yet a fortnight since
Christ-Church at Woodstocke entertaind the Prince,
And 'vented hath a studyed toy, (pray marke this!)
Long as the siege of Troy, to please the Marquisse.
Good sir, a word: for all your silke and satten,
Yet may I safely sweare you know no Latine.
And will you talke, sir: none must judge his parts
But such as are well skilld in all the arts.
Nor is it fitt you jeast on him, sir, since
He lately conquered a fierce Latine Prince.
He hath a zealous sword; if you he heares,
Be sure he'le cutt of your rebellious eares.
Frisk to the Globe or Curtaine with your trull,
Or gather musty phrases from the Bull.
This was not for your diet; he did bring

What was prepared for our Platonicke king.
Goe, court your mistresse, sir; he's likewise gone,
And I am left halfe angry here alone—
Glad that I have the poet so befrinded,
Mad that such dull invention was commended.
To such a sacred audience was his muse
Wit-bound or tongue-tyed, that she did refuse
To lend new mater, or else did he deeme
"Crambe bis costa" was of such esteeme?
What, though he say ther was great alteration,
Yet was it all built on the old foundation:
Nay, more, 'tis thought this second repetition
Will plague the printers with a new edition.
The title this: A pleasant Comedye,
Lately presented to his Majestye,
The prince, the marquisse, and the courtiers prudent,
At Woodstocke mannor by a Christ-Church student.
Would oute twere come to that? For then should wee
Be teared from a generall obloquye.
For most men thinke, nor will they change the mind,
That all the Uniuersity conjoynd
In the performances, and without all doubt
To countenance this toy was so given out.
Nor at the court alone, (the more the pitty)
Tis so believed in village, towne, and citty.
Nay, I have heard the rascall Batle Guard say,
Schollers, runne home, study, and mend your play.
Horrible thruth! Shall private weakenesse bee
A slander to the Universitye?
Give Cambridge such occasion as to mocke,
And make poore Oxford a pure laughing stocke?
O, fate of life! and can I hold my peace,
Urg'd thus, and from revenge so just thus tease?
Twere but the witt of justice now to rayle
Uppon the Poet; but 'twill nought availe,

And therefore out of mercye I'le be free
To pitty, and give counsell without fee,
The better to digest his new disgrace.
(I would not have him runne to such a place,
Where it should be preferment to endure,
To teach a schoole, or else to starve a cure.)
A milder course is better: let him gett
Commendatorye verses, and entreat
His worthy frend, juditious Mr. Lea,
To write a Persian censure on his play.

Against the Libeller.

Thou that hast yet no name of thine owne,
But dost hope by traducing of his to be knowne,
Enjoye thy deare purchase, yet not without laughter,
Bee thy name halfe-holiday ever hereafter;
For in learning and witt I would have yee beleive,
Where this Holiday comes thou art but his slave.

Anti-Holliday.

Bragg on, old Christ-Church, never frett nor greeve,
But in thy practice let proud Wolsey live,
Who never thought he well perform'd that thinge
Was not about or else about the kinge.
His fall and pride was *Ego et Rex meus:*
Thine greater now when *Rex* is joynd with *Deus.*
God nor the king seemd to approve that play,
That made his sabbaoth lesse then Holliday.

Answere.

If I can judge a sicke man by his fitt,
This poet hath more heresye then witt;
For if the last verse of the eighth bee true,
What ere his countrye is, he is a Jew.

Againe.

I could forgive thy . . . . . rimes,
Did they condemne mee only and these times;
But how comes Wolsey in? why doest thou laye
My fault to him? he founded not my play,
Nor doe in our Oxford, Wolsey say,
When wee intend to rayle, but when we pray:
And how comes Sunday in? why dost thou spight
God for my sake, and robb him of his right?
The sabbaoth in thy throate better be dumbe,
Then by thy phrase deny that Christ is come.

In the person of Christ Church.

If wee at Woodstocke have not pleased those
Whose clamorous judgment lyes in crying noes,
Wee are not sorry, for such witts as they
Libell our windowes oftner then our play:
Or if wee have not pleased those whose lipps
Preserve the knowledge of the Proctorshipps,
And judge by houses as ther voices goe,
Not caringe if the cause bee good or noe,
Nor by desert or fortune they loose ther pawne,
Wee are not greatly sorry;
But if any
Can be found, out of the ingaged many,
That daws speake hath ever when the head is by,
Or where his seniors spowne is in the pyc,
Nor to commend the worthy will forbeare,
Though he of Cambridge or of Christ-Church were,
And not of his owne colledge, and will shame
To wrong the persons for his goods or name;
Yf any such be found, then downe, proud spirit.
Yf not, know number never conquerd meritt.

[*Answere.*]

When too much zeale doth fire devotion,
Love is not love, but superstition:
Even so in civill dutyes, when wee come,
Too oft wee are not frends but troublesome;
But as the first is not idolatrye,
So is the last but greived industrye;
And so mine, whose strife to humor you
By overplus hath robbd you of your due.

To the puritane disprayser.

Tis not my person nor my play,
But my sirname Holliday,
That doth offend thee: thy complaints
Are not against mee, but the Saintes:
So ill dost thou brooke my name,
Because the Church doth like the same.
A name more awfull to the Puritane
The[n] Talbot was to France, or Drake to Spaine.

The fiddler of New Colledge his descant on the play.

At the "Marriage of the Arts" before the king,
Lest those brave mates should want an offeringe,
The king himselfe did offer, what, I pray?
He offerd twice or thrice to goe away.

The answere.

More trouble yet? 'tis but an organist.
Fidlers and fooles may prattle what they list.
Yet wonder I the chanter would suffer him to play
Such foolish jiggs uppon an Holliday.

The author's farwell.

To find a man in companye
Were ventring at a lotterye

Where fewer blancks goe to one prize
Then here doe foules to one that's wise:
Why then al creditt have I throwne
Where there are twenty casts to one,
And that one too perhaps his Lord's,
Whose Lord too speakes not his owne words.
O, wretched state of poetrye!
Blew-coates are not more liverye
With badges on St. George's day,
Then are men's judgments at a play,
Where you may know whose follower more
By what he spake then what he wore.
Why then farwell, deare trifled Muse,
Untill I heare some monstrous newes
That men doe cease such to persever,
And that I thinke is farwell ever.

SECTION IV. BASSE'S EPITAPH ON SHAKESPEARE.

Most early copies of this celebrated epitaph vary considerably from each other. The present is taken from the Middlehill MS., No. 9569, written about 1638.

On Shakespeare. Basse.

Renowned Spencer, lye a thought more nigh
To learned Beaumont, and rare Beaumont lye
A little neerer Chaucer, to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold, fourefold tombe.
To lodge all foure in one bed make a shift
Untill Doomesday: for hardly will a fift
Betwixt this day and that by fate be slaine,
For whom the curtaine shall be drawne againe.
But if precedency in death doth barre
A fourth place in your sacred sepulcher,

In an uncarued marble of thine owne
Lye, brave tragedian, Shakespeare, lye alone!
Thy unmolested rest, unshared cave,
Possesse as Lord, not Tenant, to thy grave;
That unto others it may counted bee
Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.

SECTION V. SUPPOSED POEMS BY SHAKESPEARE.

From the same MS. as the preceding, and stated in the catalogue to be the genuine productions of Shakespeare. The signature seems to afford the sole ground for such a supposition, but it may save trouble to a future inquirer to render them accessible.

To a valentine.

Faire valentine, since once your welcome hand
Did call mee out, wrapt in a paper band,
Vouchsafe the same hand still, to shew therebye
That fortune did your will noe injurye.
What though a knife I give, your beautyes charme
Will keepe the edge in awe for doing harme:
Wooll deads the sternest blade, and will not such
A weake edge turne, meeting a softer touch?

W. S.

On a butcher marrying a tanner's daughter.

A fitter match hath never bin:
The flesh is married to the skin.

W. S.

SECTION VI. TRINCULO'S STRANGE FISH, ILLUSTRATED BY AN EARLY BALLAD IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

Trinculo's first meeting with Caliban, and his commentaries on the dubious appearance of that singular character, was probably a scene that was relished considerably by the audience when the Tempest was first produced. Among the many pieces of contemporary satire with which Shakespeare adapted his plays to his auditors, although it must be acknowledged that he has often generalised them sufficiently to preserve their effect to most ages, this speech of Trinculo must now have lost much of its point. Strange fishes, perhaps, are not so much a matter of astonishment for the "abject vulgar" now-a-days, setting aside the equivoque unavoidably produced by the modern application of the term to our own race; and living specimens from the wilds of America have taken the place of Trinculo's "dead Indian." The reader or spectator smiles at the conjectures of Trinculo; but, without a commentary, he would hardly detect the particular satire. There can, however, be little doubt that Shakespeare here intended an allusion to the practice of showing *lusus naturæ* for the benefit of the "holiday fools;" and it may be that the strange fish and dead Indian refer to some particular exhibitions that were popular about the time the Tempest was written.

However this may be, no one has yet produced any documents that bear sufficiently on the subject to entitle them to be received as authorities in the disputed question concerning the chronology of this play. Mr. Chalmers's dead Indian is a matter of mere conjecture as regards its connection with the one referred to by Trinculo; and Mr. Hunter's is of so early a date[1] that it can scarcely be applicable. I am not prepared to produce more decisive evidence, but the following early ballad, which is copied from one in black-letter in Anthony

[1] Disquisition on the Tempest, p. 102.

Wood's collection in the Ashmolean Museum, marked No. 401, seems so good an illustration of Trinculo's remarks on the curiosity excited in England upon the appearance of a "strange fish," that it may perhaps be considered worthy of a place in this miscellany.

A description of a strange and miraculous fish, cast upon the sands in the meads, in the hundred of Worwell, in the county Palatine of Chester, or Chesheire. The certainty whereof is here related concerning the said most monstrous fish. To the tune of Bragandary.

Of many marvels in my time
I've heretofore,
But here's a stranger now in prime
That's lately come on shore,
Invites my pen to specifie
What some (I doubt) will think a lie;
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

It is a fish, a monstrous fish!
A fish that many dreads,
But now it is, as we would wish,
Cast up o'th sands i'th meads,
In Chesshire; and tis certaine true,
Describ'd by those who did it view;
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

Full twenty one yards and one foot
This fish extends in length,
With all things correspondent too't,
For amplitude and strength:

Good people, what I shall report
Doe not account it fained sport;
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

It is almost five yards in height,
Which is a wondrous thing;
O mark, what marvels to our sight
Our potent Lord can bring!
These secrets Neptune closely keeps
Within the bosome of the deeps.
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

His lower jaw-bone's five yards long,
The upper thrice so much,
Twelve yoak of oxen stout and strong,
The weight of it is such,
Could not once stir it out o'th sands;
Thus works the All-creating hands!
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

Some have a project now in hand,
Which is a tedious taske,
When the sea turnes, to bring to land
The same with empty cask:
But how I cannot well conceive,
To each man's judgement that I leave.
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

The lower jaw-bone nam'd of late,
Hath teeth in't thirty foure,
Whereof some of them are in weight
Two pounds or rather more:
There were no teeth i'th upper jaw,
But holes, which many people saw.
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

The second part, to the same tune.

His . . . . . is in length foure yards,
Big as a man i'th wast.
This monster he who well regards,
From th' first unto the last,
By every part may motives find,
To wonder at this wondrous kind.
O rare, &c.

The tongue on't is so mighty large,
I will it not expresse,
Lest I your credit over-charge,
But you may easily guesse,
That sith his shape so far excels,
The tongue doth answer all parts else.
O rare, &c.

A man on horseback, as 'tis try'd,
May stand within his mouth:
Let none that hears it this deride,
For tis confirm'd for truth,
By those who dare avouch the same;
Then let the writer beare no blame.
O rare, &c.

His nerves or sinewes like Bulls . . . .,
For riding rods some use,
O' spermaceti there's some vessels;
If this be the worst newes,
That of this monster we shall heare,
All will be well I doe not feare.
O rare, &c.

Already sixteene tuns of oyle
Is from this fish extracted,
And yet continually they boyle,
No season is protracted:
It cannot be imagin'd how much
'Twill yeeld, the vastnesse on't is such.
O rare, &c.

When he upon the sands was cast
Alive, which was awhile,
He yell'd so loud, that many (agast)
Heard him aboue sixe mile;
Tis said the female fish likewise
Was heard to mourne with horrid cryes.
O rare, &c.

The mariners of Chester say
A herring-hog tis nam'd:
What ere it be, for certaine they
That are for knowledge fam'd,
Affirme, the like in ages past
Upon our coast was never cast.
O rare,
beyond compare,
In England nere the like.

There is no date to this ballad, but it bears the initials M. P., probably Martin Parker, a well-known ballad-writer in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was "printed at London for Thomas Lambert, at the sign of the Hors-shoo in Smithfield," and we are further informed, "There is a book to satisfie such as desire a larger description hereof."

Malone has given the following extract from the MS. office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, "A license to James Seale to shew a *strange fish* for half a yeare, the 3rd of September, 1632;" and in Maine's comedy of the City Match, one of the characters is introduced, "hanging out the picture of a *strange fish*." It may, therefore, have been a popular kind of exhibition in Shakespeare's time.

SECTION VII. HEYWOOD'S PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE TO SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF RICHARD III.

[From Heywood's Pleasant Dialogves, 12mo., 1637, p. 247.]

A young witty lad playing the part of Richard the third at the Red Bull, the author, because hee was interested in the Play, to incourage him, wrote him this Prologue and Epilogue.

The boy the speaker.

If any wonder by what magick charme
Richard the third is shrunke up like his arme:
And where in fulnesse you expected him,
You see me onely crawling like a limme
Or piece of that knowne fabrick, and no more,
(When he so often hath beene view'd before.)

Let all such know: a rundlet ne'er so small,
Is call'd a vessell, being a tunne, that's all.

Hee's tearm'd a man that showes a dwarfish thing,
No more's the guard or porter to the king.
So pictures in small compasse I have seene,
Drawne to the life, as neare as those have beene
Ten times their bignesse: Christenmas loaves are bread,

So's your least manchet: have you never read
Large folio sheets which printers overlooke,
And cast in small to make a pocket booke?
So Richard is transform'd: if this disguise
Show me so small a letter for your eyes,
You cannot in this letter read me plaine,
Hee'l next appeare in texted hand againe.

The Epilogue.

Great I confesse your patience hath now beene,
To see a little Richard: who can win
Or praise, or credit? eye, or thinke to excell
By doing after what was done so well?
It was not my ambition to compare
No envie or detraction: such things are
In men of more growne livers, greater spleene,
But in such lads as I am seldome seene.
I doe, but like a child, who sees one swim,
And (glad to learne) will venter after him,
Though he be soundly duckt for't; or, to tell
My mind more plainely, one that faine would spell
In hope to read more perfect: all the gaines
I expect for these unprofitable paines,
Is, that you would at parting from this place
Doe but unto my littlenesse that grace
To spie my worth, as I have seene dimme eyes
To looke through spectacles or perspectives,
That in your gracious view I may appeare
Of small, more great; of coming far off, neare.

SECTION VIII. THREE CURIOUS BALLADS FROM AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD; INCLUDING ONE ON TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, HITHERTO UNKNOWN TO THE EDITORS OF SHAKESPEARE.

The constancy of Troilus was by no means an unusual subject for allusion in Elizabethan writers, and indeed was often adduced as an example for a lover's fidelity. But the commentators have recovered no proof that the tale was introduced into the ballad literature of Shakespeare's time, with the exception of an entry on the books of the Stationers' Company, in 1581, of "A proper ballad, dialogue-wise, between Troilus and Cressida." To this entry may be added another, in 1565, of "A ballet intituled the History of Troilus, whose troth had well been tryed."[1] I have the satisfaction of offering the members of the Shakespeare Society a copy of another contemporary ballad on the same subject, which is the first that has yet been discovered; the two ballads just mentioned not being at present known to exist. It occurs in a MS. collection of early poetry in the Ashmolean Museum, written probably at various times, but certainly formed entirely in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and is the same volume from which Hearne printed the early copy of Chevy Chase. Other extracts from this MS. will also be found in the British Bibliographer, iv., 107, &c.

The perusal of the following ballad will, I think, recall to the reader's recollection the scenes between Troilus and Cressida in Shakespeare's play, act iii., sc. 2, and act iv., sc. 2; but it will be observed that it implies a somewhat different tale at the commencement. In the play we miss the scorn that the ballad imputes to Troilus for all "that longeth to merry game;" the latter word being of course employed in the same sense in

[1] See Warton's History of English Poetry, ed. 1840., iii., 337.

which it is so frequently found in our early metrical romances. It would be an idle question to pursue the inquiry whether Shakespeare had seen the present ballad. His obvious obligations to Chaucer render any opinion of the kind unnecessary; but still it illustrates very curiously the popularity of the subject, and must be considered an interesting addition to the criticisms on that play.

Two other pieces in the same volume appeared so curious and interesting, that I have taken the opportunity of adding them to the Shakesperian ballad. One is an unknown production by Elderton, which was entered without his name on the Stationers' Registers in 1570, licensed to Wylliam Pekerynge as "a ballet intituled Lenton Stuffe." It describes the articles sold in the time of Lent, with punning observations upon them. The other is the supposed effusion of a clown consoling himself on his mistress becoming the vicar's wife, which is a truly curious specimen of that class of compositions. A fragment of this latter ballad is written on the margin of a much earlier MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, marked Ff. ii., 38.

I.

[From the MS. Ashmole 48, fol. 120.]

To the tune of Fayne woold I fynd sum pretty thynge to geeve unto my lady.

When Troylus dwelt in Troy towne,
A man of nobell fame-a,
He schorned all that loved the lyne
That longd to merry game-a.

He thawght his hart so overthwart,
His wysdom was so suer-a,
That nature could not frame by art
A bewty hym to lure-a.

Tyll at the last he cam to churche,
Where Cressyd sat and prayed-a;
Whose lookes gave Troylus suche a lurche,
Hys hart was all dysmayde-a!

And beynge wrap in bewtyse bands,
In thorny thawghts dyd wander;
Desyrynge help, of hys extreemes,
Of her dere unkell Pandare.

When Pandar dyd perceve the payne
That Troylus dyd endure-a,
He fownde the mene to lurch agayne
The hart with Troylus lured.

And to hys neece he dyd commend
The state of Troylus then-a;
Wyll yow kyll Troylus? God defend!
He ys a nobell man-a.

With that went Troylus to the fyld,
With many a lusty thwake-a,
With bluddy steede and battred sheeld,
To put the Grecians bak-a.

And whyle that Cressyd dyd remayne,
And sat in Pandares place-a,
Poore Troylus spared for no rayne,
To wyn hys ladyse grace-a.

Yet boldly thowgh he cowld the waye
The spere and sheeld to breke-a,
When he came where hys lady lay,
He had no power to speke-a.

But humbly kneelynge on hys knee,
With syghes dyd love unfolde-a;
Her nyght-gowne then delyvered she,
To keepe hym from the colde-a.

For shame, quoth Pandar to hys neece,
I spek yt for no harme-a;
Of yower good bed spare hym a peece,
To keepe hys body warme-a.

With that went Troylus to her bed,
With tremblynge foote, God wot-a!
I not remembrynge what the dyd,
To fynysh love or not-a.

Then Pandare, lyke a wyly pye,
That cowld the matter handell,
Stept to the tabell by and by,
And forthe he blewe the candell.

Then Cressyd she began to scryke,
And Pandare gan to brawle-a;
Why, neece, I never sawe yower lyke,
Wyll yow now shame us all-a?

Away went Pandare by and by,
Tyll mornynge came agayne-a;
God day, my neece, quoth Pandare, je!
But Cressyd smyled then-a.

In faythe, old unkell, then quoth she,
Yow are a frend to trust-a?
Then Troylus lawghed, and wat yow why?
For he had what he lust-a.

Allthowghe there love began so coye,
As lovers can yt make-a;
The harder won the greter joy,
And so I dyd awake-a!

II.

[From the same MS., fol. 115.]

A newe ballad entytuled Lenton Stuff,
For a lyttell munny ye maye have inowghe.

To the tune of the Crampe.

Lenton Stuff ys cum to the towne,
The clensynge weeke cums quicklye;
Yow knowe well inowghe yow must kneele downe,
Cum on, take asshes trykly,
That nether are good fleshe nor fyshe,
But dyp with Judas in the dyshe,
And keepe a rowte not worthe a ryshe.

Herrynge, herrynge, whyte and red!
Seeke owt suche as be rotten;
Thowghe sum be hanged and sum be dede,
And sum be yet forgotten,
The tyme wyll tam the displynge rod,
Thowghe idolls dum make many od,
Wyll fyrk owt som that feare not God.

Walflet oysters, salt and greene,
Are trym metes to be eaten;
Trusty subjects to there queene,
Neede never to be beten;
And a sallet sure as God exceedes,
And must procure dysgestion needes,
That's pyct so pure yt hathe no weedes.

Lylly whyte muskells have no peere,
The fyshewyves fetche them quyklye ;
So he that hathe a consciens cleere,
May stand to hys takkell tryklye.
But he that seekest to set to sale,
Suche baggage as ys olde and stale,
He ys lyke to tell another tale.

Newe place, newe at every tyde,
Thys ys the common cravynge ;
In every place let them be tryde,
That are of yll behavynge.
For suche as of beyond say smell,
The cam to far to savor well,
As I here the common people tell.

Carp ys cownted verry good,
A trym fyshe and a dayntye ;
But yf yt smell out of the mud,
Whole geeve a grawte for twenty ?
So suche as carp at every thynge,
Whereof no good accord doethe sprynge,
To the carren crowes there carkas flynge.

Goodgyuns make a goodly dyshe,
For suche chees as be syklye ;
And as yt ys a foolyshe fyshe,
And wyll be taken quyklye,
So many a goodgyn nowadayse
Is cawght and coseynd sundry wayse,
To make a foole at all assayse.

And as thys Lent tyme, many seekes
For yerbs and sallets dayntye,

I never in my lyf saw lyekes,
In every place so plentye;
For every man lykes what he lust,
And as he lykes he puts hys trust,
So fewe or non belyke be just.

Of nettells lykwyse there be store,
In sallets at thys season;
For men be nettled more and more
With palltryse passynge reson;
And sum uppon a nettell . . . . .,
That see not where the nettell ys,
And many a on fynds fault at thys.

Fygs, thowghe fewe com owt of Spayne,
Thys Lent tyme are grete plentye;
There ys suche discord and dysdayne,
That fygs can not be deynty.
For a fyg for yow, saythe John to Jone;
And a fyg for thee, saythe man to man;
And a fyg for yowe all, do what you can.

Reasons gret and reasons small,
Undoubted a grete meanye,
Have byn thys Lent at Westminster Hall,
And sold for many a penny;
And nowe to London be the cum,
To the Burs, I thynk, to talk with sum,
For deynty mouthes wyll not be domme.

Pepper ys come to a marvelus pryce,
Som say, thys Lenton season;
And every body that ys wyse
May soone perceve the reson:

For every man takes pepper i' the nose
For the waggynge of a strawe, God knowse,
With every waverynge wynd that blowese.

With mace I mene to make an end,
  For after pepper lyghtly,
The maces many men do send,
  That glyster fayre and bryghtlye;
And he that meetethe with that mace,
Is sure to have a restynge place,
Tyll the law and he have tryde the case.

Then Jake à Lent comes justlynge in
  With the hedpeece of a herynge;
And saythe, repent yowe of yower syn,
  For shame, syrs, leve yower swerynge;
And to Palme Sonday doethe he ryde,
With sprots and herryngs by hys syde,
And makes an end of Lenton tyde!

Finis quothe W. Elderton.

III.

[From the same manuscript, fol. 137.]

Adew! my pretty pussy,
  Yow pynche me verry nere;
Yowre soden parture thus,
  Hathe chawnged muche my chere!
But turn agayne and bas me,
For yf that yow pas me,
A better grownd shall gras me
  Untyll another yere!

Thowghe yow make yt daynty,
Wemen wyll be plenty;
When won man shall have twenty,
  There wyll be bownsynge chere.

Prynce Arthure cums agayne, syr,
  So tellethe me myne host;
Dick Swashe keepes Salesbury plane, syr,
  And schowrethe styll the cost;
But Jayne wyll jest no more, syr,
Tyb was borde before,
Kate she keepes the schore, syr,
  And schores yt on the post.
Talk of other knaks, syr,
Fyll no empty saks, syr,
Put no fyre to flax, syr,
  Lest all yowre gaynes be lost!

The market wyll be mard, syr,
  Yf corn and cattell faule;
The syt but at reward, syr,
  That sarwen in slovens haull.
Put pres amunghst the best, syr,
Smell owt every fest, syr,
Shrynke not for a jest, syr,
  Stand up and tak no fawle.
For he that fumes and frets, syr,
Syldom payse hys dets, syr;
Smaule gaynes myne ostys gets, syr,
  When cards are cownted all.

My pretty wenche dothe smyle, syr,
  To here me tell thys tale;
I wowld ryde many a myle, syr,
  To cary suche a male:

For sche can syt asyde, syr,
Lyke a vyckars bryde, syr,
With all her poynts untyde, syr,
When she hathe in her ale:
But when she cums in place, syr,
Then she hydes her face, syr,
Thys ys all her grace, syr,
When her ale she sets to sell.

The peopell talk and prate, syr,
Of pus and her short lyff:
And of her mariage late, syr,
Men say there ys grete stryff.
But the gyrld ys gon, syr,
With a chokynge bon, syr,
For she hathe got Syr John, syr,
And ys ower vyckars wyff:
This ys no les indeede, syr,
Then holy churche dothe breede;
Suche serves a turn at neede, syr,
To whet a blunted knyff.

Syns pus wyll part from me, syr,
And do me thus muche wronge,
Chyll have as good as she, syr,
Before that yt be longe.
Pus ys not contented,
Full oft she hath repented
That ever she consented,
And thynks she hathe gret wronge
But cowrtyers can not carve,
Except the tyme dothe serve, syr,
Thowghe thys be overthwart, syr,
Remember me amunge!

Finis.

SECTION IX. FORMAN ON SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

It is a singular circumstance that the following notices of four plays should be the only records of Forman's attachment to theatrical amusements, and that three out of those four should relate to the compositions of Shakespeare. The plot of Richard II., as described by Forman, entirely differs from that of Shakespeare's play under the same title, but Mr. Amyot conjectures that the play which Forman saw might be a *first part* of Richard II., and by Shakespeare; the existing drama being a second part: but Mr. Collier contends, with more probability, that it was the play mentioned by Merrick. These singular documents were first printed by Mr. Collier, in his *New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare*, 8vo., Lond., 1836, to which interesting work, as well as his new edition of Shakespeare, I refer the reader for information regarding Forman's mistakes, &c. Mr. Collier has not preserved the old orthography, but documents of so important a character appear worthy of a few pages to be printed for the first time in exact concordance with the original MS.

[From MS. Ashmole 208, fol. 200-207.]

The bocke of plaies and notes therof per Formans for common pollicie.

In Richard the 2 *at the Glob*, 1611, *the* 30. *of Aprill, Tuesday.*[1]

Remember therin howe Jack Straw by his overmoch boldnes, not beinge pollitick nor suspecting anye thinge, was soddenly at Smithfeld Bars stabbed by Walworth, the Major of London,

[1] Forman always uses astrological characters for the days of the week. The present has been misread by my predecessor; and it may be mentioned that it is somewhat difficult to find explanations of such characters.

and soe he and his wholle army was overthrowen; therfore in such a case or the like, never admit any parly without a bar betwen, for a man cannot be to wise, nor kepe himselfe to safe.

Also remember howe the Duke of Gloster, the Erell of Arundell, Oxford and others, crossing the kinge in his humor about the Duke of Erland and Bushy, wer glad to fly and raise an hoste of men, and beinge in his castell, howe the D. of Erland cam by nighte to betray him with 300 men, but havinge pryvie warninge therof, kept his gates faste, and wold not suffer the enimie to enter, which went back again with a flie in his eare,[1] and after was slainte by the Errell of Arundell in the battell.

Remember also when the Duke and Arundell cam to London with their army, Kyng Richard came forth to them and met him, and gave them fair wordes, and promised them pardon, and that all should be well yf they wold discharge their army. Upon whose promises and fair speaches, they did yt; and after, the king byd them all to a banket, and soe betraid them, and cut of their heades &c. because they had not his pardon under his hand and sealle before, but his worde.

Remember therin also howe the Duck of Lankaster pryvily contryved all villany to set them all together by the ears, and to mak the nobilyty to envy the kinge, and mislyke of him and his governmentes, by which means he made his own sonn king, which was Henry Bullinbrock.

Remember also howe the Duk of Lankaster asked a wise man wher himself should ever be kinge, and he told him no, but his sonn should be a kinge; and when he had told him, he hanged him up for his labor, because he should not brute yt abrod or speke therof to others. This was a pollicie in the commonwealthes opinion, but I sai yt was a villains parte, and a Judas kisse to hange the man for telling him the truth.

[1] The common expression now is, a *flea* in his ear, which occurs in Clarke's *Phrascologia*, 1655.

Beware by this example of noble men and of their fair wordes, and sai lyttell to them, lest they doe the like by thee for thy goodwill.

In the Winters Talle at the Glob, 1611, *the* 15 *of Maye, Wednesday.*

Observe ther howe Lyontes the Kinge of Cicillia was overcom with jelosy of his wife with the Kinge of Bohemia, his frind, that came to see him, and howe he contrived his death, and wold have had his cupberer to have poisoned [him] who gave the King of Bohemia warning therof and fled with him to Bohemia.

Remember also howe he sent to the orakell of Apollo, and the aunswer of Apollo that she was giltles, and that the king was jelouse, &c. and howe, except the child was found again that was loste, the kinge should die without yssue; for the child was caried into Bohemia, and there laid in a forrest, and brought up by a sheppard, and the Kinge of Bohemia his sonn married that wentch; and howe they fled into Cicillia to Leontes, and the sheppard having showed the letter of the nobleman, by whom Leontes sent, it was that child, and [by] the jewells found about her, she was knowen to be Leontes daughter and was then 16. yers old.

Remember also the rog that cam in all tottered like roll pixci, and howe he fayned him sicke and to have him robbed of all that he had, and howe he cosoned the por man of all his money, and after cam to the shop ther with a pedlers packe, and ther cosened them again of all their money; and howe he changed apparrell with the Kinge of Bomia his sonn, and then howe he turned courtier, &c. Beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawninge fellouse.

Of Cimbalin King of England.

Remember also the storie of Cymbalin King of England in Lucius tyme, howe Lucius cam from Octavus Cesar for tribut,

and being denied after sent Lucius with a greate armie of souldiars, who landed at Milford Haven, and affter wer vanquished by Cimbalin and Lucius taken prisoner, and all by means of 3 outlawes, of the which 2 of them were the sonns of Cimbelin, stolen from him, when they were but 2 yers old, by an old man whom Cymbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns 20 yers with him in Arcave. And howe of of them slewe Clotan that the quens sonn goinge to Milford Haven to set the love[1] of Innogen, the kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for lovinge his daughter, and howe the Italian that cam from her love conveied himself into a cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from hir love and others to be presented to the kinge. And in the depest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste and cam forth of yt, and vewed her in her bed and the markes of her body, and toke awai her braslet, and after accused her of adultery to her love &c. And in th'end howe he came with the Romains into England, and was taken prisoner, and after reveled to Imogen, who had turned herself into mans apparrell, and fled to meet her love at Milford Haven, and chanchsed to fall on the cave in the wodes wher her 2 brothers were, and howe by eating a sleping dram, they thought she had bin deed, and laid her in the wodes and the body of Cloten by her, in her loves apparrell that he left behind him, and howe she was found by Lucius &c.

In Mackbeth at the Glob, 1610, *the* 20 *of Aprill, Saturday.*[2]

Ther was to be observed firste howe Mackbeth and Bancko, 2 noblemeen of Scotland, ridinge thorowe a wod, ther stode

[1] That is, Posthumus.

[2] The 20th of April in 1610 fell on a Friday, but the 20th of April 1611 on Saturday. This affords a strong ground for believing that the date in the text is a mistake for 1611, and this latter is much more likely to be correct, being nearer the other dates. I have very little doubt that Cymbeline was seen by Forman also in the spring of 1611.

befor them 3 women feiries or numphes, and saluted Mackbeth, sayinge t. 3 tyms unto him "haille Mackbeth, King of Codon, for thou shalt be a kinge, but shalt beget no kinges, &c." Then said Bancko, "What all to Mackbeth and nothing to me?" Yer said the nimphes, "haille to the, Banko, thou shalt beget kinges, yet be no kinge;" and so they deperted, and cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin, King of Scotes, and yt was in the dais of Edwarde the Confesser. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcome, and made Mackbeth forthwith Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed Mackbeth to provid for him, for he wold sup with him the next dai at night, and did soe. And Mackebeth contrived to kill Dunkin, and thorowe the persuasion of his wife, did that night murder the kinge in his own castell, beinge his guest. And then were many prodigies seen that night and the dai before. And when Mackbeth had murdred the kinge, the blod on his handes could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wives handes, which handled the bluddi daggers in hiding them, by which means they became both moch amazed and affrouted. The murder being knowen, Dunkins 2 sonns fled theen to England the Walles to save themselves. They beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothing so. Then was Mackbeth crowned kinge, and then he, for feare of Banko his old companion, that he should beget kinges but be no kinge himself, he contrived the death of Banko, and caused him to be murdred on the way as he rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men, whom he had bid to a feaste, to the which also Banco should have com, he began to speake of noble Banco and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing up to drincke a carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier behind him. And he turninge about to sit down again, sawe the goste of Banco, which frouted him so that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, utteringe many wordes about his

murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was murdred, they suspected Mackbet.

Then Mackdove fled to England to the kinges sonn, and soe they raised an army, and cam into Scotland, and at Dunscenanyse overthrue Mackbet. In the meane tyme, whille Mackdove was in England, Mackbet slewe Mackdoves wife and children, and after in the battelle Mackdove slewe Macket.

Observe also howe Mackbetes quen did rise in the night in her slepe and walked and talked and confessed all, and the docter noted her wordes.

SECTION X. SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTH-PLACE.

It is not quite needless, in the question of Shakespeare's popularity among his contemporaries and immediate successors, to ascertain how soon after the poet's death Stratford-on-Avon was singled out as memorable, on account of its being his birth-place, residence, and last resting-place. In 1662, Sir Thomas Browne in one of his journeys mentions "Shakspear tombe in Stretford" as an object worthy of special visit. See MS. Sloane, 1900, f. 15. I have recently met with a much earlier instance in a work printed in 1639, in which the circumstance of its being the dramatist's birth-place is alluded to as the "most remarkable" connected with Stratford.

"One travelling through Stratford upon Avon, *a towne most remarkeable for the birth of famous William Shakespeare*, and walking in the church to doe his devotion, espied a thing there worthy observation, which was a tombestone laid more than three hundred yeeres agoe, on which was engraven an epitaph to this purpose: I, Thomas such-a-one, and Elizabeth, my wife, here under lie buried, and know, reader, I, R. C., and I, Christoph^{h}. Q. are alive at this howre to witnesse it." *A Banquet of Jests, or Change of Cheare*, 12mo, Lond., 1639, No. 150.

SECTION XI. EPITAPH ON COMBE.

There appears to be considerable doubt whether the verses written by Shakespeare on Combe, the usurer, are preserved. Every one knows the epitaph on him attributed to Shakespeare, but this is found in many contemporary collections, and there is no sufficient evidence to establish the authorship. The following couplets, from an early manuscript, exhibit the popularity of Combe's epitaph under other forms, and applied to another person.

Here lyes 10 with 100 under this stone,
A 100 to one but to th' divel hees gone.
MS. Sloane, 1489, fol. 11.

Who is this lyes under this hearse?
Ho, ho! quoth the divel, 'tis my Dr. Pearse.
MS. Ibid., fol. 11.

The editors of Shakespeare have omitted to notice a version given in a MS. at Oxford, nearly contemporary with Shakespeare:—

On John Combe, a covetous rich man, Mr. Wm. Shakspear wright this att his request, while hee was yett liveing, for his epitaph.

Who lies in this tomb?
Hough, quoth the devill, 'tis my son, John a Combe.

But being dead, and making the poore his heiers, hee after wright this for his epitaph,

Howere he lived, judge not.
John Combe shall never be forgott,
While poor hath memorye; for hee did gather
To make the poore his issue: hee, their father,

As record of his title and seede,
Did crowne him in his latter seede. Finis, W. Shak.

MS. Ashmole, 38, f. 18′

SECTION XII. EPITAPH ON SHAKESPEARE.

Few persons will be willing to confer on Shakespeare the merit of the four lines commencing "Good friend, for Jesus' sake, forbear;" and if they happen to be superior to the miserable doggrel often exhibited on tombs by popular or individual fancy, there can, nevertheless, be little doubt either that the lines in question were commonly used for the purpose in Shakespeare's time, or were composed by a pen far below the great poet's in power or liberal feeling. Most probably the former, for Hackett tells us the same epitaph was to be seen in his time on a stone in St. Paul's Churchyard, Covent Garden. See *Select and Remarkable Epitaphs*, vol. i., p. 182. This epitaph was erected about eighty years after Shakespeare's. I give a somewhat similar one, hitherto inedited, from a MS. volume of poetical miscellanies, written about the year 1630, and preserved in Rawlinson's collection, in the Bodleian Library:—

Epitaphe on a Bakere.

For Jesus Christe his sake forbeare
To dig the bones under this biere;
Blessed is hee who loues my duste,
But damnd bee he who moues this cruste!

SECTION XIII. THOMAS AND JOHN SHAKESPEARE.

Whether the Thomas Shakespeare mentioned in the following documents be any relation to the poet, I have not been

able to ascertain; but perhaps some one better read in the genealogy of his family will clear up this point. The originals are preserved at the Rolls' House, Chancery Lane.

xiii^th^ October, 1571.

Thomas Shakspere, one of the Quenes Ma^ties^ messengers of the chamber, cravith allowaunce for rydinge from the courte at Richmonde with the counsayles lettres, in great haste to the right worshipfull Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, one of the Quenes majesties pryvie counsayle; and from thence to Norwiche, and from Narwiche to a place called Bakenthorpe, to Sir Christofer Heydon, knight, which is twentie myles from Norwiche, and I was ffourthe tenn dayes.

Allowe to hym aftre iijs. iiijd. per diem } xxxiijs. iiijd.

WA. MILDMAYE.

Mensis Novembris anno Elizab: Reginæ, xiij°.

Thomas Shakespare, one of the Quenes Majesties Messengers, axithe alowaunce for his chardges rydinge at the comaundemente of the Right Honnorable Sir Walter Myldemaye, knight, Chauncelare of thexcheker, from Westminster to Lincolne, for Trusteram Terwhyte, esquier, and dyd warne hym to apeare before his honor and the barnes of thexchequiere, wyche he dyd not acordinge to his bonde, and so by resone thereof, at his honours comandement rode to Lyncolne againe for him, and durste not come before his honore vntell suche tyme as he hade founde hym, and then brought hym before his honor, and dyscharged hymself of hym. Wherfore the sayde Shakespare prayethe to haue alowaunce for his chardges and payis for xxxv. dayes at iijs. iiijd. the daye, and to be rated by the Right Honorable Sir Walter

Myldmaye, knight, and to be payde by one of the Quenes Majesties tellores of the recayte at Westminster.

Summa v^{li} xvj^{s} iiij^{d}.

Allow in recompence of this bill the somme of ffoure poundes.

WA. MILDMAYE.

In the same office I found the following notice of John Shakespeare, the bit-maker, who is mentioned in a MS. quoted by Mr. Collier:—

To John Shakespeare for one gilt bit for the sadle aforesaid, iij^{li} xiij^{s} vj^{d}. [1621.]

To John Shakespeare for xiiij. bittes, guilt silvered and chast, at v^{li} x^{s} a piece, iij^{xx} xvij^{li}.

For one payre of bosses, richly enameled, l^{s}.

In an "Account for Tylting," 1620, occurs this entry:—

To John Shakespeare for vij. bittes for the sadles aforesaid, at lij^{s} vj^{d} apiece, xviij^{li} vij^{s} vj^{d}.

It appears to me that all early notices of the name of Shakespeare are worth preserving; as it is impossible to say, without very rigorous examination, that they may not in some way be connected with the poet's family.

SECTION XIV. THE YOUNG GALLANT'S WHIRLIGIG.

There are few who will not be pleased to have a reprint of this most curious and interesting tract, which is so excessively rare that Sir Egerton Brydges supposes only one copy to be in existence. See his Restituta, iii., 508. Besides his printed works, Lenton wrote the "Poetical History of Queene Hester, with the translation of the 83rd psalm, reflecting upon the present times," MS., dated 1649. The allusions to Ben Jonson,

the theatres, &c., render the following piece one within our design, and a perusal will convince the reader that its curiosity is a sufficient apology for its introduction.

The Yovng Gallants Whirligigg, or, Yovths Reakes, demonstrating the inordinate affections, absurd actions, and profuse expences of vnbridled and affectated youth. With their extravagant courses, and preposterous progressions and aversions. Together with the too often deare bought experience, and the rare, or too late regression and reclamation of most of them from their habituall ill customes, and vnqualified manners.

Vsitatum peccatum, peccatum non videtur.

Compiled and written by F. L.

Nemo lœditur nisi à seipso.

Ergo:

Iam vitulos hortare, viamque insiste domandi,
Dum faciles animi juvenum; dum mobilis ætas.—Virg.

London: printed by M. F. for Robert Bostocke, at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Churchyard. 1629.

To the Right Honourable Sir Julius Cæsar, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell.

Right Honourable,

Observing the by-paths of this prodigall generation, and having contracted myselfe within a smaller and narrower compasse then the loosnes of too many do admit, I thought it not amisse (seeing examples take no impression in the lives of lascivious youths) to venture upon a checke to their follies, by way of precept, in some briefe impolisht numbers, suiting with the common enormities of these times. And in regard that I once belonged to the Innes of Court, and have a long time, (as well by generall reports as my owne particular knowledge,) beene an eye witnesse of your loyalty in your place, piety in

your family, clemency toward poore clyents, charity to the needy, and courtesie to all, I have presumed (under your honours favour,) to present you with a piece of an houres recreation, licenc'd by good authority. I am no usuall poetizer, but to barre Idleness have imployed that little talent the Muses have confer'd upon me in this little tract. If it shall please your honor but to warme it under your noble wings, no doubt but it will grow bigger and better, and encourage me to write a more large and solid labor. Accept it, then, right honorable, and peruse it but with the tythe of that respect which my duty and devotion presents it, and none shall be more truly gratefull to your so much honoured gravitie, then,

Your honors most humbly obliged,

FRA. LENTON.

To three sorts of Readers.

You home-bred Dotards wonted to relate
The tedious stories of a quondam state,
Tye up your tongues, and now with admiration,
Behold the times preposterous alteration:
If your experience will finde out the truth,
Like Æson, your old age must turne to youth.
You gilded Snow-balls, and aspiring Sprights,
That nought discerne but sensuall delights,
That throw away your dayes before you can
Truly deserve the epithete of Man:
Observe these numbers, and impolisht layes,
Which, though they cannot merit any bayes,
May (if you please) as in a looking-glasse,
Shew you the follies of a golden asse.
I doe not satyrize, but still desire,
In loving zeale, and true fraternall fire,
T'informe your judgements by some men's decay,
And, by their wandring, point you perfect way.

Precepts are good, but if you them refuse,
Your owne example may make good my muse.

You tender Blades, not ripened by the Times,
That know, nor Vertue, nor the moderne crimes,
Whose understandings cannot apprehend
How farre your Will, your Reason doth extend:
Whose softer mindes and young progressions
Are apt for any faire impressions,
Behold foule Vice, clad in a gorgeous ray,
And pined Vertue, patcht in poorest gray,
Take heede in time, be happy if you can,
See, and forsake by this unhappy man:
But if according to your youthfull dayes,
You will be mad, and memorate your praise
By your loose Actions, spinning out your thred
In vanitie, untill your fatall bed
Surprise you unawares, and take you hence
Before your soules have thought of penitence,
Know, when your Ignorance hath had full scope,
You'l curse your selves if ere your eyes be ope,
And thinke too late, of what I finde too true,
As more have done, as well as I or you.

VALE.

A Fiction by way of Argument on this Booke.

Pondering the pathes of this polluted age,
And viewing every scene upon the stage
Of this vile orbe, methought I did behold
A giddy spirit in an Isle of Gold;
His head, methought, was like a Windmill bigge,
In which ten thousand thoughts run Whirligigg;
Inclos'd he was (not by delusive dreames)
With reall lustre of Pactola's streames;

In which he proudly sailes with glorious deckes,
Untill the frigide zone his passage checkes,
By hard congealed Rocks, by which he split
His goodly Bulke; shipwrackt himselfe and it.
But Neptune, tendring his unhappy goare,
Commands the waves to cast him on the shoare,
Where, when awhile in mind he had forecast
His sinne against the gods by times ill past,
Jove sent his messenger to tell him yet
Pallas had promis'd wisedome to his wit:
This rais'd his spirits, and twixt griefe and zeale,
By bright Apollo's ayde, rings youth a Peale.

The Whirligigg.

Leaving the learned axiomes of old,
Which grave Philosophers have wisely told,
And left behind them in a morall booke,
For childish youth and crooked age to looke,
I doe intend to explicate some crimes
Now perpetrated in these moderne times,
Which differ from the olderne dayes as farre
As is the Artique from th'Antartique starre.
And thou, Caliope, thou noble Muse,
Into my braines thy Cælique power infuse,
That I may plainly point out my intent,
For youth to know, and knowing to prevent;
And though some critiques may suppose me vaine,
To write these Numbers in heroicke straine;
They being used at sad Obsequies,
By weeping lines in dolefull Elegies;
To satisfie their pregnant wits in this,
I tell them I was one of those remisse
And giddy youths, which wandred in the ayre
Of vaine opinion, and excluding Care;

But when my riper yeeres began to spy
The end thereof to be but misery,
And when I saw their fond and idle crashes,
To be like meteors, onely spent in flashes,
I did retire then from that deepe abysse
Where horrid Gorgons doe both sting and hysse,
And dying from that life, as on my herse,
I wrote these numbers in heroick Verse.

But now my Gallants Age I meane to skan,
Of infancy, of childhood, youth and man:
The former two I will but onely touch,
Lest his two following ages prove too much.

When at his mother's tender paps hee lay,
How did she wait upon him every day,
Tyring herselfe by tossing in her armes
His grisly body, keeping it from harmes:
And when his growth hath lent him legs to goe,
Reeling and tottering then both to and fro,
How often did she watch, and cry, and call,
"Take heede the little boy there doth not fall."
Her ardent care, joyn'd with her constant eye,
Did still attend his imbecilitie.
Her wombe and brests in which he did delight,
He never shall be able to requite.

His Childhood next (unlesse he was a foole,)
Required them to put him unto schoole,
Where in processe of time he grew to bee
A pretty scholler; after, tooke degree
I'th' Universitie, as it was fit,
Whose Tutor said hee had a ready wit,
And well could argue by old Ramus layes,
And in the thirteene fallacies had praise.
Hee well could skill upon brave Kickerman,
And argue soundly ore a pipe or can,

For schollers sometime to an alehouse creeping,
Increase their wits more then in bookes by peeping.
Now all this while hee had not his full scope,
Therefore they did conceive of him great hope:
His Tutor was the man that kept him in,
That hee ran not into excesse of sinne.
His literature fill'd his parents' hearts
With joy and comfort, hoping his deserts
Might purchase credit and a good report,
And therefore send him to the Innes of Court,
To study Lawes, and never to surcease,
Till he be made a justice for the peace.
Now, here the ruine of the youth begins;
For when the country cannot finde out sinnes
To fit his humour, London doth invent
Millions of vices, that are incident
To his aspiring minde; for now one yeare
Doth elevate him to a higher sphere,
And makes him thinke he hath atchieved more,
Then all his fathers auncestors before.
Now thinkes his father, here's a goodly sonne,
That hath approached unto Littleton,
But never lookt on't—for, instead of that
Perhaps hee's playing of a game at Cat.
No, no, good man, hee reades not Littleton,
But *Don Quix-Zot*, or els *The Knight o'th Sun:*
And if you chance unto him put a case,
Hee'll say, perhaps, you offer him disgrace,
Or else, upon a little further pawse,
Will sweare hee never could abide the lawes:
That they are harsh, confused—and, to be plaine,
Transcend the limits of his shallow braine.
Instead of Perkins pedlers French, he sayes
He better loves Ben Johnson's booke of playes,

But that therein of wit he findes such plenty,
That hee scarce understands a jest of twenty;
Nay, keepe him there untill the day of doome,
Hee'le ne'er reade out *Natura Brevium*,
But, Ovid-like, against his father's minde,
Finde pleasant studies of another kinde.
Now, twice the Sun his annuall course hath flitted
Since first this goodly Gallant was admitted,
And now, as hee approacheth towards the Barre,
His friends and parents very jocund are;
And, to incourage him in the Lawes lore,
He spends much money, and they send him more.
He ruffles now in sattin, silke, and plush,
And oftentimes soliciteth the bush.
Imbroydred suits, such as his father ne'er
Knew what they meant, nor hee knowes how to wear.
This golden Asse, in this hard iron age,
Aspireth now to sit upon the stage;
Lookes round about, then viewes his glorious selfe,
Throws mony here and there, swearing hang pelfe,
As if the splendor of his mightinesse
Should never see worse dayes, or feele distresse:
His quoyne expended by alluring hookes,
His parents him supply to buy him bookes,
As hee pretends: but, 'stead of Coke's Reports,
Hee's fencing, dauncing, or at other sports.
Thus he affects himselfe in these fond wayes,
To gaine an outward superficiall praise
Amongst a crew, of sense so much bereft,
They scarcely know the right hand from the left.
His dauncing master he supposeth can
Make him a right accomplisht gentleman,
Although his birth abridg'd it: therefore hee
Now learnes the postures of the cap and knee,

Carrying his body in as curious sort
As any revellor in the Innes of Court,
That ladies doe behold him with some pleasure,
Capring Corantoes, or some smooth-fac'd measure,
And in the end of his so active dance,
Some crooked lady claps her hands by chance,
Which addes such fuell to his kindled fire,
That hee outstrips proud Phæton's desire.
And should great Juno but approach so nie,
He durst presume to court her Deitie.
Now Venus hath him in her lovely armes,
And the blind boy provokes him with his charms,
Casting from beauteous objects piercing darts,
Which strike fond lovers to their fiery harts,
Which, being once inflamed, still doth burne,
Untill their fuell unto ashes turne.
Hee now courts everything hee heares or sees,
With more delight then Lawyers take their fees,
And when he is farre distant from his faire,
(Through ardencie,) he complements with ayre,
Wishing (camelion-like) that hee might live
Inclos'd within the breath which she doth give.
All amorous conceits he now commends,
And for the same his mony vainly spends.
He now scornes prose, and on his mistres' name
Writes an acrostique, or some anagramme,
To shew his wit; and therefore hee hath got
Some Poetaster for a double pot,
To lend his aide unto his thin-sculd braine,
To paint her praises in a lofty straine,
By some encomiastique adulation,
To which she hath or small or no relation:
The Poet undertakes it on condition,
Hee spends a quart of sacke for expedition.

And then hee sends it unto Mistress Tit,
In his owne name, though by another's wit.
Thus, when in streets hee shall be seene to passe,
The Poet sayes, There goes a simple asse,
And makes it unto his associates knowne,
Hee writes good lines, but never writes his owne.
Your theaters hee daily doth frequent,
(Except the intermitted time of Lent)
Treasuring up within his memory
The amorous toyes of every Comedy
With deepe delight; whereas, he doth appeare
Within God's Temple scarcely once a yeare,
And that poore once more tedious to his minde,
Then a yeares travell to a toiling hynd.
Playes are the nurseries of vice, the bawd,
That thorow the senses steales our hearts abroad,
Tainting our eares with obscæne bawdery,
Lascivious words, and wanton ribaulry.
Charming the casements of our soules, the eyes,
To gaze upon bewitching vanities,
Beholding base loose actions, mimick gesture,
By a poore boy clad in a princely vesture.
These are the onely tempting baits of hell,
Which draw more youth unto the damned cell
Of furious lust, then all the devill could doe,
Since he obtained his first overthrow.
Here Idlenesse, mixt with a wandring minde,
Shall such varietie of objects finde,
That ten to one his will may breake the fence
Of reason, and imbrace concupiscence:
Or, if this misse, there is another ginne,
Close linckt unto this taper house of sinne,
That will intice you unto Bacchus feasts,
'Mongst gallants that have bin his ancient guests,

There to carouse it till the welkin roare,
Drinking full boles untill their bed's the floare:
'Mongst these it is a customary fashion,
To drinke their mistress' health with adoration,
On bended knees, tossing whole flagons up,
Untill their bellies fill againe the cup;
And when for more they throw down pots and yall,
Their bladder's kindnesse is reciprocall;
Sweare, lye, stab, kill, adore their mistress eyes,
More then the Master of th' Olympicke skies.
Thus, more like beasts then men, devoid of reason,
They please their pallates by committing treason
Against their God, whose image they deface,
Obscuring reason, and abhorring grace,
Till Bacchus growing horn'd, enlarg'd with fury,
Takes Atrapos his place without a jury;
And who can tell whether Elizium
Receives their soules, or the infernall tombe?
What is not apt unto a drunken soule?
Even anything that is or base or foule:
From no absurditie it is exempt,
As daring any action to attempt.
The five great crying sinnes of this our land,
Which daily draweth downe God's heavy hand,
Are incident to this vile watry sinne,
That stickes so fast where it doth once begin,
To sweare, to lie, to kill, to steale, to whore,
With thousand other petty vices more.
Mark but the horrid oathes that men do sweare,
As if from heaven their Maker they would teare,
Adorning as they thinke their forged lyes,
With hellish rhetorique of blasphemies;
Rejecting that which once the Lord did say,
Let yea be yea, and let your nay be nay,

Forgetting what a curse and fatall blame
Shall waite on them that crucifie his name.
Lying the next, in which vaine youths delight,
But such ne'er tarryed in David's sight,
For they that doe invent and frame such evill,
Are of their damned father call'd the devill;
And if in time they looke not well about,
Shall keepe them company that are shut out.
The third is homicide, that cruell crime,
That seld or never doth at any time
Outlive its punishment! for the Law is good
And just, that doth require blood for blood.
But most of all when done on such false ground,
As in ebrietie is often found.
The fourth is theft, the droane of Commonwealths,
That never favoreth the goods or healths
Of brethren, neighbours, that desire to thrive,
And by hard labour have encreas'd their hive,
No sooner got, but straight this crafty droane
By rapine takes, and spends it as his owne.
The Law condemnes, the Gall-house is prepar'd,
Many are truss'd for this, but few deterr'd.
The fift is whoredome and Adulterie,
Daughters of drunkennes and gluttonie,
By these and lazinesse they are begot,
As once appeared by the righteous Lot:
O! would but once that act had ever bin,
Then wee had scap'd, and Lot had borne that sin.
And now my lusty gallant, still resolv'd,
Into the middle region is involv'd,
Which though it coldest be of constitution,
Yet doth it not allay his resolution.
Old Dædalus his father being dead,
He now begins to take a greater head;

With Icarus he purposeth to flye
As high as heaven, but marke!—and presently,
Great Phœbus by his power melts his wings,
And headlong to the sea his body flings.
His fortunes drown'd, his corps the fishes prey,
His fiery braines quencht in the brinish sea.
For now his fathers lands, bonds, golden bags,
Buyes him a coach, foure Flanders mares, two nags,
A brace of geldings, and a brace of whores,
The one for pockes, the other plaines and moores:
Viewing his chariot and his rich attire,
Makes him beleeve the world is all on fire.
He courts it now even at the court indeed,
Sometimes on gennet, sometimes English steed,
Pacing with lacques in the paved streets,
In glory bowing to each friend he meets,
(Too prodigall of his fam'd courtesie,
Which may be term'd a proud humilitie,)
The estridge on his head, with beaver rare,
Upon his hands a Spanish sent to weare.
Haires curl'd, eares pearl'd, with Bristows brave and brig
Bought for true diamonds in his false sight;
All ore perfum'd, and, as for him tis meete,
His body's clad i'th silkwormes winding sheete.
Now, thus accoutred and attended to,
In Court and citie there's no small adoe
With this young stripling, that obraids the gods,
And thinkes. 'twixt them and him, there is no ods:
A haughty looke, a more superbious minde,
And yet, amongst his equalls, too-too kinde.
A wanton eye, and a lascivious heart,
That sees no danger, till hee feeles the smart:
Now, as where tamest feathered fowles abound,
Foxes keepe station, and walke that round,

So, when a raw yong heire is comé to land,
He shall have foxes waite on every hand;
When wealth increaseth to a prodigall,
Who will profusely waste and spend it all,
There is vaine-glory, and, without all doubt,
The flatterer will finde that fellow out,
To soothe him in his grosse and humerous waies,
That neither doe deserve nor love nor praise:
For when such men doe in applause delight,
They presently beget a parasite,
Who, by insinuating adulation,
Debase themselves to others elevation:
This cringing serpent ile no longer smother,
But give the knave to him, and foole to th' other.
The Cockpit heretofore would serve his wit,
But now upon the Fryers stage hee'll sit;
It must be so, though this expensive foole,
Should pay an angell for a paltry stoole.
The largest tavernes of the neatest fashion
Hee doth frequent—hee drinkes for recreation.
Your Ordinaries, and your Gaming-schooles,
(The game of Mercuries, the mart of fooles)
Doe much rejoyce when his gold doth appeare,
Sending him empty with a flea in's eare;
And when hee's gone, to one another laugh,
Making his meanes the subject of their scoffe,
And say, it's pity hee's not better taught,
Hee's a faire gamester, but his lucke is nought.
In the meanetime, his pockets being scant,
Hee findes a lurcher to supply his want,
One that ere-long, by playing in-and-in,
Will carry all his Lordship in a skin;
Yet, as insensible of that device,
As minding more his pleasure, cards, and dice,

Before the sun hath run his circle round,
He in the center of his game is found,
Hazarding that which late was lent unto him,
Not dreaming any course can quite undoe him;
Thus by degrees his patrimonie wastes,
Whilst he nor sees, heares, feeles, or smels, or tastes
His folly, shame, abuse, deceit, or woe,
That future times may force him undergoe,
But makes progression in his wonted course,
With as much understanding as a horse,
Burning the cards, damning the dice that lost,
Swearing and cursing, ne'er was man thus crost,
Drinking out sorrow, whiffing sighes away,
Converting day to night, and night to day,
As if good nature had abus'd this wight,
And done him wrong, that did himselfe no right.
O, most insensible and sensuall beast,
How are thy intellectuall powers decreast,
Whose understanding is so much condense,
That one would thinke his soule within his sense;
For any object that the sense doth move,
Drawes on affection, and affection love;
Love being setled by its powerfull might
Upon or good, or bad, attracts delight;
Delight breeds custome, and by times progresse,
Engendreth a foule monster, call'd Excesse:
Excesse joyes in extreames, whose violence
Is alwayes opposite to permanence,
Thus giving way to appitituall guile,
They force poore Reason to a farre exile.
But stay, my muse, you must not dare to flye
Into the secrets of moralitie,
But still proceede i'th path you have begun,
Untill the setting of this rising sun,

Who in his highest sphere now seated is,
In the *Solstitium* of his ayrie blisse.
Bent to his bane, through prodigall expence,
Luxury, drunkennes, incontinence,
Pride of apparell, and vaine-glorious acts,
Painted delusions, ignominious facts,
Seducing harlots, sucking parasites,
Bewitching syrens, and lascivious nights,
Abusive cheatings, and illusive friends,
That seem'd to love him for sinister ends,
Unfruitfull plots, matches unfortunate,
Nocturnall revellings intemperate,
With millions of deceiving vanities,
Throwne in our waies by Sathans treacheries;
Depriving men of rich celestiall joyes,
For wretched hopes in momentary toyes.
Now being aspired to his utmost pride,
Each full must have a wane, as ebb a tide,
For having by a thousand subtle hookes,
Squeezed for friends, scribled in mercers bookes,
Perceiving his decay, they summon straight
Their wits together, and doe lie in waite,
(By the devils engins) to deprive him quite
Both of his libertie, and his delight;
And ere hee can behold his wofull case,
He is immured in some wretched place.
This Butterfly, with all his garish tyre,
Now melteth like the snow against the fire;
This Grashopper, that th'other day was seene,
Capring within his curious silken greene,
Singing shrill notes unto the summers praise,
Never expected crabbed winter daies,
Till chilling autumne, with his falling leaves,
Shrivels his body, and his hope deceives:

His silken garments, and his sattin robe,
That hath so often visited the Globe,
And all his spangled, rare, perfum'd attires,
Which once so glistred in the torchy Fryers,
Must to the broakers to compound his debt,
Or else be pawned to procure him meate.
Now debt on debt they doe accumulate,
Upon his carefull body and estate;
Vowing revenge upon his carkasse there,
Sorrowing onely that they did forbeare
So long a time, but now the very stones
Will pitty him, before they heare his moanes.
Nor are his creditors alone obdure,
But even his copesmates, whom he thought so sure,
Shall shrinke like slimy snailes into the shell,
Whilst he his plaints unto the walls doth tell,
Whose friendship was ingendred by the sun,
Reflecting on their base corruption.
Nay, more—his bosome friends (whose neer relation
Should ne'er admit of any separation,)
Come slowly on, as sorry for his griefe,
But have not wherewithall to yeeld reliefe.
And as the nature of the world is such,
To give the needlesse, and the needy grutch,
So this dejected man, borne to this fate,
(As if thereto hee were predestinate,)
Is now deny'd, who in his prosperous dayes,
Did winter them that winke at his decayes;
For now the equall Justice of the time,
Requires each man to keepe within his clime;
For if hee straggle from his limits farre,
(Except the guidance of some happy starre
Doe rectifie his steps, restore his losse)
He may perhaps come home by weeping crosse.

Now doth his soule begin to gather light,
Which makes his understanding farre more bright;
Now doth the filme of his obscured soule
Weare off, and manly reason doth controle
The vagrant will and thirsting appetite,
Yeelding unto the soule her due and right;
Now is his braine more solid and more dry,
By apprehension of his miserie;
And not so apt to fancies wandering,
That ne'er remaineth firme in anything.
Now with his heart hee wisheth that hee had
But two full yeares of those which were so bad;
But all too late, for time doth alwayes passe,
But ne'er imployes a retrograding glasse.
Now he commends the bee (though void [of] reason,)
That hoards in summer for the winter season,
Admiring much the fabricke of their cell,
And how they fortifie that Cittadell:
A wonder tis to see what they invent,
Both for their lodging, food, and government;
For, as some grave philosophers have showne,
Each bee eates nought but that which is her owne.
O! thinkes hee now, had I but kept my store,
I needed not my carelesnesse deplore;
Or, had my younger daies afforded wit,
To spend no more then what I now thinke fit;
Had no insinuating droanes come neere
My plentious hive, I never had come here.
Another while he lookes upon the ant,
Sees her great plenty, feeles his greater want,
Admires her providence that laboured still
Her winter barnes in summer time to fill.
Wonder of nature, hater of all sloath,
The most laborious, though of smallest growth!

Lastly, lookes backe, with a dejected eye,
Upon his pampred daies, sports, libertie,
His midnight revels, and abundant wine
He sacrificed unto Bacchus shrine,
His bowles of Nectar, fill'd up to the brim
In which he to his marmosite did swim;
His oysters, lobstars, caviare, and crabs,
With which he feasted his contagious drabs;
Oringoes, hartichoakes, potatoe pies,
Provocatives unto their luxuries;
His musickes consort, and a cursed crue,
That us'd to drinke, untill the ground look'd blew,
'Mongst painted sepulchers, that love excesse,
Who inwardly are full of rottennesse.
Thus, when he viewes with a more perfect sight,
His shining morne turn'd to a gloomy night,
And all his glory, pompe, and vaine expence,
To have their due reward and recompence,
Then, bursting forth with acclamation,
He blames this wicked generation,
Cursing his follies, and the subtle snares,
That in his darknes caught him unawares,
Being forced now thorow his owne decay,
To wish the fragments, erst he threw away.
To quench his thirst with that inebrious cup,
Which indigested hee had belched up:
As if the heavenly power had thus ordain'd
Profuse expence should be with want restrain'd.
And marke the unresisted hand of heaven,
That whatsoever talent it hath given,
Of wit or wealth, it is to some good end,
To praise his God, or to relieve his friend:
But he that still in idle waste is found,
Is worse then hee that hid it in the ground.

I that have sense of blessings and of woe,
In my life's compasse yet did never know
An epicurious and disordred minde
Want his affliction in the selfe-same kinde;
For drunkennesse they thirsting have acquir'd,
And wanted meate, when they have much desir'd;
In stead of health, by fevers they shall melt;
Far wandring, want of liberty is felt.
Thus, every act hath its opposing ill,
Inflicted on it by the Highest will.
This Gallants circuit, and itineration,
Is almost finisht in a lower station,
Whose meagre body pinde away with griefe,
(For want of seasonable friends reliefe)
Howerly watcheth when the day shall come
To lay his body in an earthly tombe:
Yet oftentimes hope doth awake his spirit,
And tells him one day yet hee shall inherit
His freedome, and release; which being done,
Another course he doth intend to run,
So moderate and grave, that by the power
Of Him that sits in the immortall tower,
His second life hatcht by supernall fire,
Cooperating with a true desire
To rectifie his former follies past,
Shall make him shine a brighter star at last.

Epilogue.

You blyth yong rufflers that do looke so big,
Laugh at the precepts of this Whirligigg;
Mock on with safetie both yourselves and me,
Foster your pleasures whilst the golden tree
Beares fruit enough; glory in what you may,
Till lusty youth is vanished away;

Sport like the wanton flie about the light,
Untill your glorious wings be burned quite;
Dance like the fish upon the gentle brooke,
Untill you swallow both the baite and hooke;
Play with the pitfall till you unaware,
Are clapt up fast, or tangled in a snare;
Doe what you please, no counsell Ile bestow
On those whose pregnant wits doe over-flow,
But leave them to the mercie of their fate,
To know themselves before it be too late,
For this by true experience I doe finde,
Misery, the salve to cure a haughty minde.
This epitaph if any doe deny,
May one day prove his weeping elegie.

Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat, agamus;
Carmina tum, melius cum venerit ipse, canemus.[1]

SECTION XV. THE DIGGERS OF WARWICKSHIRE.

The following curious paper appears to have been written early in the reign of James I., and seems worthy of preservation in connexion with a subject in which our great dramatist is supposed, with great probability, to have interested himself. The original is contained in MS. Harl. 787, art. 11.

The Diggers of Warwickshire to all other Diggers.

Louing ffriends and subjects, all under one renowned Prince, for whom we pray longe to continue in his most royall estate, to the subuerting of all those subjects, of what degree soeuer y^{t} haue or would depriue his most true harted Comūnalty both from life and lyuinge. Wee, as members of y^{e} whole, doe feele y^{e} smart of these incroaching Tirants, w^{ch} would grinde

[1] The words and phrases in this tract which require explanation will be found in my "Dictionary of Archaisms."

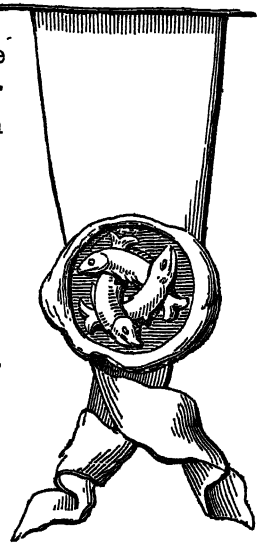
ur flesh upon y^e^ whetstone of pouerty, and make our loyall earts to faint w^th^ breathing, so y^t^ they may dwell by themelues in y^e^ midst of theyr heards of fatt weathers. It is not nknowne unto yo^w^ selues y^e^ reason why these mercyless men .oe resist w^th^ force ag^st^ our good intents. It is not for y^e^ good f our most gracious soueraigne, whom we pray God y^t^ longe ıe may reygne amongst us, neyther for y^e^ benefitt of y^e^ Comnunalty, but onely for theyr owne priuate gaine, for there is ıone of y^em^ but doe taste y^e^ sweetness of our wantes. They ıaue depopulated and ouerthrown whole townes, and made herof sheep pastures, nothing profitable for our Coñonwealth, for y^e^ coñon ffields being layd open, would yeeld as much ıoñodity, besides y^e^ increase of Corne, on w^ch^ standes our life. But if it should please God to w^th^drawe his blessing in not ›rospering y^e^ fruites of y^e^ Earth but one yeare (w^ch^ Godd for›idd) there would a worse, and more fearfull dearth happen then lid in K. Ed. y^e^ seconds tyme, when people were forced to eat Datts and doggs flesh, and women to eate theyr owne children. Much more wee could giue you to understand, but wee are ›erswaded y^t^ you your selues feele a part of our greiuances, ınd therfore need not open y^e^ matter any plainer. But if you happen to shew your force and might ag^st^ us, wee for our partes neither respect life nor lyuinge; for better it were in ıuch' case wee manfully dye, then hereafter to be pined to death for want of y^t^ w^ch^ these deuouring encroachers do ıerue theyr fatt hogges and sheep withall. ffor God hath bestowed upon us most bountifull and innumerable blesıings, and the cheifest is our most gracious and religious kinge, who doth and will glory in y^e^ flourishing estate of his Coñunalty. And soe wee leaue you, coñending you to y^e^ sure hold and safeguard of y^e^ mighty Jehoua, both now and euermore.

ffrom Hampton-field in hast:

Wee rest as poore Deluers and Daylabourers,
for y^e^ good of y^e^ Coñonwelth till death.

A. B. C. D. &c.

SECTION XVI. SEAL OF SIR THOMAS LUCY.



I am indebted to the liberality of the British Archæological Association for the accompanying copy of the autograph and seal of Sir Thomas Lucy, made by Mr. Fairholt, the accomplished artist of that society. Mr. Fairholt informs us that the original document is in the possession of Mr. Wheler, of Stratford-on-Avon; it is the presentation of the Rev. Richard Hill to the rectory of Hampton Lucy, in Warwickshire, in the gift of Sir Thomas, and is dated Oct. 8, 1586. Sir Thomas was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and then rebuilt the manor house of Charlecote, where his family had been seated since the days of Richard I. He is celebrated in connexion with Shakespeare and his early adventures; and the seal is interesting, as it displays the three white luces interlaced, which the dramatist is accused of ridiculing. Upon the vanes of the house at Charlecote they are also fancifully disposed, the three luces being interlaced between cross crosslets: an engraving of one of these vanes may be seen in Moule's *Heraldry of Fish*, p. 55, who says "the pike of the fishermen is the luce of heraldry; a name derived from the old French language *lus*, or from the Latin

lucius; as a charge, it was very early used by heralds as a pun upon the name of Lucy."

SECTION XVII. THE PROPERTY OF THE SHAKESPEARES.

The following extracts are taken from a survey of Warwickshire, made in August, 4 James I.

Manerium de Rowington. Thomas Shackspeare clamavit tenere libere sibi et hæredibus suis per cartam datam xxviij. die Januarii, anno regni regis Henrici VIII. xiij. unum messuagium et unam virgatam terræ in Losson End, et nuper Johannis Shackspere, et ante Thomæ Cryar—viz. Domum mansionale, hortum, stabulum, pomarium, gardinum et *le backside*, in occupatione dicti Thomæ, continent: per æstimationem j. acram; clausum pasturæ vocatum *le Longe feald*, per æstimationem vj. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Stockings*, per æstimationem vj. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Well Furlonge*, per æstimationem vj. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Redd Hill*, per æstimationem vj. acras; clausum prati ibidem continent: per æstimationem vj. acras; parvum clausum vocatum *le Kellings* per æstimationem j. acram. Ricardus Shackspeare tenet per copiam datam vij. die Octobris anno regni Elizabethæ reginæ secundo, unum messuagium et dimidium virgatæ terræ cum gardino, nuper Richardi Shackspeare patris sui et Shackspeares ex antiquo, viz. —domum mansionale iij. et dimid: spatiorum, hortum j. spatii, alium hortum j. spatii, et gardinum continent: per æstimationem j. rodum; clausum terræ arabilis sive pasturæ vocatum *le Hilles*, continent: per æstimationem ix. acras et dimidium; pratum vocatum *Poole Meadowe* continent: per æstimationem ij. acras; ij. parcellas prati continent: per æstimationem j. acram, j. rodum. Richardus Shackspeare junior tenet per copiam datam xx. die Aprilis anno regni regis Jacobi Angliæ ij°. et Scotiæ 37°. unam parcellam terræ vocatam *the little yard*, cum domo superinde ædificiato, continent: per æstimationem

j. rodum. Johannes Shackspere tenet per copiam datam xvj. die Aprilis anno regni Elizabethæ reginæ xlij° unum cotagium et unam quartam partem virgatæ terræ et gardinum, nuper Richardi Shackspere patris sui et Shacksperes ex antiquo, viz. —domum mansionale ij. spatiorum, hortum ij. spatiorum, et dimid: unum stabulum j. spatii, continent: per æstimationem dimidium acræ; terras arrabiles sive pasturam vocatam *Little Spencers* continent: per æstimationem ij. acras; terras arrabiles sive pasturam vocatam *Great Spencers* continent: per æstimationem iij. acras; pratum inclusum continent: per æstimationem ij. acras.

Mousley End. Georgius Shackspere tenet per copiam datam xxv. die Octobris anno regni reginæ Elizabethæ xxxv. unum cotagium et duas croftas nuper Johannis Shackspere patris sui, et ante Johannis Shackspere avi sui, Shackspeares ex antiquo, viz.—Domum mansionale iij. spatiorum, hortum ij. spatiorum, pomarium, gardinum, et curtilagium, continent: per æstimationem ij. rodos; clausum pasturæ adjacentem vocatum *le Home-close* continent: per æstimationem j. acrum; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Longecrofte*, continent: per æstimationem j. acrum; communis pastura pro una bestia et v. ovibus; habenda ad usum prædicti Georgii Shackspeare, et Jane, uxoris ejus, et hæredum Georgii de corpore prædictæ Jane, &c.

Lowston End. Thomas Shackspeare senior tenet per copiam datam secundo die Junii anno regni reginæ Mariæ primo, unam croftam in Lowston-end nuper Reeves, viz.—unam croftam pasturæ sive arrabilis vocatam *Brochalle* per æstimationem vij. acras.

Mowslee End. Thomas Shackspeare senior tenet per copiam datam vj. die Aprilis anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ xxxix. et per copiam datam xv. die Aprilis anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ xliiij. unum messuagium et virgatam terræ cum pertinentibus in Mowslee-end, nuper Johannis Shackspeare patris sui, et ante Birdes, viz.—Domum mansionale iij. spatiorum, unum hortum iiij. spatiorum, et alium hortum iiij. spa-

tiorum, unum *le Carthouse* j. spatii, gardinum, pomarium et curtilagium, continent: per æstimationem ij. rodos; clausum pasturæ sive arrabilis adjacentem vocatum *le Home Close* per æstimationem vj. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *le Great Oxleasow*, per æstimationem vij. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *le Little Oxleasow* per æstimationem iiij. acras; pratum vocatum *Oxleasow Meadowe* per æstimationem ij. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Little Netherfeild* per æstimationem iiij. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Great Netherfeild* per æstimationem iiij. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Greate Hill* per æstimationem iiij. acras; clausum pasturæ vocatum *Little Hill* per æstimationem ij. acras.

Kingtон. Thomas Shackspeare tenet per copiam datam vicesimo die Octobris annis regnorum Philippi et Mariæ quinto et sexto, unum toftum et tres clausa pasturæ cum parte in Kyngton, nuper Willelmi Mathew et ante Johannis Mathew, viz.—unum hortum ij. spatiorum, continent: per estimat. long: xvj. ped. et lat. xvj. ped.; clausum pasturæ sive arr: vocatum Overkington per æstimationem iiij. acras; clausum pasturæ sive arrabilis vocatum *Netherkington* per æstimationem v. acras.

Stratford super Avon. Unfortunately, the entries for the name of William Shakespeare are left blank; and the only information we gather is, that he paid two shillings a-year for certain heriots or fines.

SECTION XVIII. THESE KNIGHTS WILL HACK.

The following ballad, which is contained in MS. Addit. 5832, f. 205, affords a good illustration of the opinion of the commentators that a well-known passage in the Merry Wives of Windsor refers to the large number of knights made by James I. Mr. Hunter has printed another copy of it in his History of Hallamshire, but it has not yet been mentioned in connexion with this subject.

Verses upon the order for making knights of such persons who had £40 per annum in King James I. time.

Come all you farmers out of the countrey,
Carters, plowmen, hedgers, and all,
Tom, Dick, and Will, Raph, Roger, and Humfrey,
Leave of your gestures rusticall.
Bidd all your home-sponne russetts adue,
And sute yourselves in fashions new:
Honour invits you to delights:
Come all to court and be made knights.

He that hath fortie pounds per annum
Shalbe promoted from the plowe:
His wife shall take the wall of her grannum,
Honour is sould soe dog-cheap now.
Though thow hast neither good birth nor breeding,
If thow hast money, thow art sure of speeding.

Knighthood in old time was counted an honour,
Which the best spiritts did not disdayne:
But now it is us'd in soe base a manner,
That it's noe creditt, but rather a staine:
Tush, it's noe matter what people doe say,
The name of a knight a whole village will sway!

Sheapherds, leave singing your pastorall sonnetts,
And to learne complements shew your endeavours:
Cast of for ever your twoe shillinge[1] bonnetts,
Cover your coxcombs with three pound beavers.
Sell carte and tarrboxe new coaches to buy,
Then, "good your worshipp," the vulgar will cry.

And thus unto worshipp being advanced,
Keepe all your tenants in awe with your frownes;

[1] Mr. Hunter's copy reads *tenpenny*.

And lett your rents be yearly inhaunced,
To buy your new-moulded maddams[1] new gownes.
Joan, Sisse, and Nell, shalbe all ladified,
Instead of hay-carts, in coaches shall ryde.

Whatever you doe, have a care of expenses,
In hospitality doe not exceed:
Greatnes of followers belongeth to princes:
A coachman and footmen are all that you need:
And still observe this, let your servants meate lacke,
To keepe brave apparel upon your wives backe.

[1] "Great Ladyes," Mr. Hunter's MS. There are several variations in the two copies, and it should be observed that Mr. Hunter's is dated 1630, and is said to have been written "on account of King Charles the First raising money by knighthood." Mr. Hunter's MS. has also the following additional stanza:—

Now to conclude, and shutt up my sonnett,
Leave of the cart, whipp, hedge-bill and flaile,
This is my counsell, thinke well upon it,
Knighthood and honor are now putt to saile.
Then make haste quickly, and lett out your farmes,
And take my advise in blazing your armes.
Honor invites, &c.

THE END.

FREDERICK SHOBERL, JUNIOR,
PRINTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET, LONDON.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRINCIPAL ACTORS

IN THE

PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE.

BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ., F.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1846.

FREDERICK SHOBERL, JUNIOR,
PRINTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET, LONDON.

TO

THE EARL OF ELLESMERE

THIS WORK IS, WITH PERMISSION, INSCRIBED;

IN TESTIMONY OF

THE HIGHEST ADMIRATION,

AND OF SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR

MANY FAVOURS CONFERRED UPON

THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

The ensuing volume is chiefly composed of minute particulars; but particulars, however minute, are not on that account trifling or uninteresting, since they obviously assume importance in proportion to the prominence or distinction of the parties to whom they relate: these details have reference to Shakespeare, to the great dramatists of his day, and to the principal actors engaged in the original performance of their plays.

General readers will hardly be aware of the time and trouble employed in collecting the facts here arranged; and the compiler is afraid to dwell upon them, lest it should be imagined that he is disposed to over-estimate his labours or his acquisitions. He is fully sensible of the many deficiencies of what he now offers: he knows how much remains to be done; but he knows, too, how much more is contained in the following sheets, than was ever discovered or brought together before. Those only who are acquainted with the scanty and imperfect materials of preceding biographers in this department, will be likely to do justice to the quantity of new information comprised in the volume in their hands. Some few (the author hopes they will be only few) may be of opinion that, at best, it is a monument of time mispent, and industry misapplied.

A separate leaf of the folio of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies," edited by Heminge and Condell in 1623, contains "the names of the principal actors in all these plays:" they are twenty-six in number, and are arranged in two columns. We have dealt with them as they there stand, beginning with the first column, and going down that, before we commenced with the second column. This seems to have been the order intended by Heminge and Condell; and perhaps, before we proceed farther, it may be well to insert the list exactly as it stands in the original, observing, that for our purpose we have throughout employed the copy of the first folio in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere. We need not dwell on this new instance of his lordship's kindness, because towards the Shakespeare Society and the author of the present work it has been invariable.

THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTORS IN ALL THESE PLAYES.[1]

William Shakespeare.	Samuel Gilburne.
Richard Burbadge.	Robert Armin.
John Hemmings.	William Ostler.
Augustine Phillips.	Nathan Field.

[1] We here follow precisely the spelling of the names in the original, but that some of them are wrong we have no doubt, though, as to others, it may be difficult to decide what is right, or what is wrong. Hemmings, for instance, in this list is Heminge at the end of the dedication of the same volume: Kempt is no where else found so spelt, and Poope elsewhere is always Pope. Similar observations will apply to others, but the author has been accustomed to consider the mere orthography of a name, even of that of our great dramatist himself, a matter hardly worth consideration. Any man who corrects a single letter of his writings confers a lasting fa\ our on mankind.

William Kempt.	John Underwood.
Thomas Poope.	Nicholas Tooley.
George Bryan.	William Ecclestone.
Henry Condell.	Joseph Taylor.
William Slye.	Robert Benfield.
Richard Cowly.	Robert Goughe.
John Lowine.	Richard Robinson.
Samuell Crosse.	Iohn Shancke.
Alexander Cooke.	Iohn Rice.

Our volume consists of such circumstances, published by others, or accumulated by ourselves, as relate to the incidents of the lives of the preceding enumeration of actors, with one exception: for that exception the reader will be prepared, because the biography of Shakespeare has been so recently written and printed by the author, that he could have added little to it. With regard to the rest, he has presumed that Heminge and Condell had good reasons for the arrangement they made of the names of their fellow tragedians and comedians, and to that arrangement he has adhered. How far it was regulated by the value and amount of services rendered, by the age of individual performers, or by the periods when they joined the company, we have no such information as will enable us to decide: it is very possible that all these considerations, mixed up perhaps with claims derived from private intimacy, influenced the editors in the order of insertion. That Condell had more to do with it than Heminge, we may be disposed to think from the respective places that their own names occupy.

Some omissions from the list may appear extraordinary: the most remarkable of these is Lawrence

Fletcher (who acted before James I. in Scotland, anterior to his accession to the English throne) whose name comes first in the patent of 1603, and who, not having died until the autumn of 1608, might have sustained characters in most of the plays of our great dramatist. He was buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and the registration, in the book which has always hitherto been referred to, is—

1608. *Sept.* 12. *Lawrence Fletcher, a man: in the church.*

There were, however (and it is a singular fact not previously noticed, but indisputable) two Lawrence Fletchers residing in the parish of St. Saviour at the same time, and both are mentioned in the old records preserved at the church: therefore, the entry of "Lawrence Fletcher, a man," would apply to either, and does not necessarily belong to the actor; but we have been able to resort to an authority, never before consulted (because only recently brought to light from an old chest preserved in the vestry) which settles the point distinctly. We allude to the unbound periodical accounts on separate sheets, from which the entries in the registers were subsequently copied, with such omissions as the transcriber, for brevity's sake perhaps, thought fit to make: the instance of Lawrence Fletcher illustrates this point very remarkably, for in the monthly accounts of deaths in the parish of St. Saviour, in the year 1608, we find his burial recorded as follows, with much particularity:—

1608. *Sept.* 12. *Lawrence Fletcher, a player, the King's servant, buried in the church, with an afternoon's knell of the great bell*..... 20*s.*

Thus we see that the "Lawrence Fletcher, *a man*," who was buried on 12th September, 1608, was not merely "a player," but "the King's servant," (that is to say, a member of the company of actors so licensed and called) and that 20*s.* were paid for his burial in the church, and for the afternoon's tolling of the great bell.

It is from the "token-books" at St. Saviour's, often quoted in our volume, that we chiefly derive the information that there was another person with both Lawrence Fletcher's names resident in the same parish, and a victualler.[1] These documents (kept, we apprehend, in order to show who had, and who had not, received the sacrament) often contain curious and particular information respecting the places of abode of players at the Globe and other theatres on the Bankside; and, in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, the actor, we learn from them that in 1607 he was living "near the playhouse," doubtless the one in the receipts at which he was largely interested.

It is still a question, and will perhaps ever remain so, whether John Fletcher, the dramatic poet, were not related to Lawrence Fletcher, the actor;[2] and we may

[1] However, the following entry in the register of a baptism establishes both these points:—

"1612. *May* 24. *Constance Fletcher, daughter of Lawrence, a victualler.*"

It is by no means impossible that Lawrence Fletcher, the victualler, was son to Lawrence Fletcher, the actor.

[2] From MS. Lansd., 982, fo. 241, printed in Birch's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," it appears, as Mr. Cunningham has pointed out to

here take the opportunity of pointing out, for the first time, that the registration of the burial of the former is preserved at St. Saviour's in three distinct forms and in three separate documents. In the bound volume it stands thus:—

1625. *Auguste* 29. *Mr. John Fletcher, a man, in the church.*

In the unbound monthly accounts, from which we have derived the more particular entry of the interment of Lawrence Fletcher, the burial of John Fletcher is recorded in these words:—

29 *August*, 1625. *John Fletcher, gentleman, in the church* 20^{s}.

The sum of twenty shillings was probably paid, as in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, for "an afternoon's knell of the great bell," but in the instance of John Fletcher it is not specified. The two preceding entries would therefore only show that a John Fletcher, "a man," or "gentleman," as he is respectively called, had been buried on the 29th August, 1625; but, as we have stated, there is a third record at the same church, which gives a different version to the two preceding, and renders it quite clear that the John Fletcher then interred was not only "a man," and a "gentleman," but no other than John Fletcher, the *poet:* it is this:—

29 *August*, 1625. *John Fletcher, a poet, in the church. gr. and ch.* ..... 2^{s}.

It is in a separate book, bound in parchment, and, as

us, that Bishop Fletcher left eight children behind him in 1596, though in his will he names only two sons, Nathaniel and John. Lawrence Fletcher may have been another son, obliged to take to the stage in consequence of the poverty of his father.

far as we can judge, kept by the sexton, to whom, perhaps, two shillings were paid for the grave and church, indicated by the abbreviations "*gr.* and *ch.*"[1]

We have mentioned the token-books, not long since discovered at St. Saviour's; and, recollecting that Shakespeare in 1609 was rated to the poor for the Liberty of the Clink, we were in hopes of finding some memorandum regarding his residence, or that of his brother. In one of the books, indeed, belonging to the year 1607, we saw the name of Edmund Shakespeare, written imperfectly, and subsequently erased, possibly because he was dead; but we looked in vain for the smallest memorandum regarding William Shakespeare. Either he did not go to church and receive the sacrament, or the

[1] Much stress is laid by Gifford upon the fact that Philip Massinger (who, Sir Aston Cokayn says, wrote plays with Fletcher) was buried at St. Saviour's as "a stranger," printing the words in capital letters:—"Even the memorial of his mortality is given with a pathetic brevity, which accords but too well with the obscure and humble passages of his life: 'March 20, 1639-40, buried, Philip Massinger, A STRANGER.' No flowers were flung into his grave," &c. The fact is, that every person there interred, who did not belong to the parish, was called "a stranger," and of this fact many instances might be given. It is remarkable, however, that Massinger, though a stranger, was buried *in the church*, and that no less than £2 were paid for his grave, knell, and other expenses of that kind, which in John Fletcher's case cost only twenty-two shillings. Moreover, it appears, from the monthly accounts at St. Saviour's, that, instead of having been buried on 20th March, 1639-40, as Gifford states, Massinger's funeral took place on the 18th March, 1638-9. The entry is precisely as follows:—

"1638. *March* 18. *Philip Masenger, strang^r, in the Church* ... 2^li.

This sum of £2 would rather show that Massinger was interred with peculiar cost and ceremony.

rating to the poor was not in respect of a house in which he resided, but of a dwelling belonging to him and occupied by some tenant, or in respect of his property and interest in the Globe theatre. The circumstance of the absence of his name in the token-books may possibly have some connexion with the question as to his religious tenets. With regard to Edmund Shakespeare, the entry of his burial, we observed on examination, had not been accurately and fully given, even from the ordinary register, for it has been omitted to be stated that, like Fletcher and Massinger, he was interred "in the church:" it stands exactly in this form:—

1607. *Dec.* 31. *Edmond Shakespeare, a player: in the church.*

In the monthly accounts still farther particulars are supplied, for we there read—

1607. *Dec.* 31. *Edmund Shakespeare, a player, buried in the church, with a forenoone knell of the great bell* ..... 20^{s}.

The tollings of the great bell were usually, as in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, "afternoon knells;" and why it was "a forenoon knell" for Edmund Shakespeare we know not, unless it were that his funeral took place in the morning, and that of Lawrence Fletcher in the afternoon. These points, to be sure, are trifles, but they are trifles that nobody has noticed before.

But, if we were disappointed by the scantiness of information in a place where we might reasonably have hoped to find more, we were surprised to meet with tidings of a Shakespeare (unmentioned in the history of our stage, but indisputably connected with it) where we never expected to discover them. Searching the re-

gisters of St. Giles without Cripplegate, in which parish the Fortune was situated, for actors who had been engaged at, and who lived near that theatre, we were astonished to meet with the following entry among the burials:—

Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere, Player: base borne. 12 *August*, 1607.

This was opening quite new ground: no Edward Shakespeare, after whom the base-born child was christened, has ever before been heard of, yet it is distinctly stated that he was a "player;" and we might suppose, from the parish in which the burial of the infant was recorded, that the father was engaged at the Fortune, and was performing there in 1607, under Henslowe and Alleyn.[1] The name of Edward is written twice over, most distinctly, in the entry, so that there can be no confusion between Edward and Edmund Shakespeare; and the latter lived in Southwark, and was buried there rather more than five months after the burial of Edward Shakespeare's base-born son is registered. We looked over the book very carefully, but could find no other entry regarding Edward Shakespeare; and, if his natural son were christened, the fact is not stated: neither

[1] The entry proves decisively that the mother was an inhabitant of the parish, but the father might reside elsewhere: if he resided in St. Giles's, it is probable that he acted at the Fortune in Golden Lane; but he might, like several others, live in Cripplegate, although he performed at the Blackfriars and Globe. Such was, we know, the case with one or more performers, but they had perhaps belonged to the Fortune company before they joined the King's players, and might not think it worth while to change their place of abode.

is any hint given who was the mother of the child. In a similar case in the same parish, in which William Sly, the actor in our great dramatist's plays, was implicated, on the 24th September in the preceding year, it was recorded that Margaret Chambers was the mother of the infant (p. 156). In the instance of Edward Shakespeare this information is deficient.

Who Edward Shakespeare was, and in what way akin to our great dramatist, must remain a matter for future speculation and discovery; but this is not the only instance in which the same registers, and at no very distant date, contain the name of Shakespeare. In 1618 a Thomas Shakespeare was married to Luce Booth, the entry being in the subsequent form:—

Thomas Shakespeere and Luce Booth, 25 *Aug.* 1618.

It is extremely probable that this Thomas Shakespeare was related to Edward, who seems to have resided in the same parish; but the registers afford no particle of information of the kind, beyond what we have extracted; and although to the burials at St. Giles, without Cripplegate, the profession or occupation of the party was sometimes added in the register, such was never the case with the marriages: consequently, we know not what was the business or employment of Thomas Shakespeare, nor have we been able to trace either him or Luce Booth farther. If they had children, they were not baptized at the church where the parents were married.[1]

[1] Thomas Dekker, the dramatist, whose name was, as usual, variously spelt by his contemporaries, seems to have been born in Southwark, where his father died in 1594, leaving a widow, of whom we hear as

These novel matters have led us away from the point we were considering—how it happened that Lawrence Fletcher and some other actors were omitted from the list of twenty-six players in the folio of 1623. It can hardly be supposed that the actor whose name precedes those of Shakespeare and Burbadge, in the patent of 1603, if he had performed at all in the productions of our great dramatist, would not have been mentioned by Heminge and Condell: the inference is, that he never did appear in any of Shakespeare's plays. With respect to others, whose names do not occur in the first folio, it may be fairly urged that, as far as we know, their parts were not sufficiently prominent to lead to the inclusion of them among "the principal actors."

One of these was "Jack Wilson," as he is called in the body of the folio of 1623, where, in "Much Ado about Nothing," his entrance is marked instead of that of Balthazar, who has merely to sing the song of "Sigh no more, Ladies."[1] A good deal of doubt has prevailed who was John Wilson; but we have ascertained from the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and from those of

"of Maid Lane" in 1596. The poet was married before 1594, and lived in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where some of his children were baptized: e. g.—

"*Christened. Dorcas, daughter of Thomas Dycker, gent.* 27 *Oct.*, 1594."

"*Christened. Anne, daughter of Thomas Decker, yoman.* 24 *Oct.*, 1602."

His daughter Elizabeth was buried there on 29th November, 1598, and on the 19th of April preceding he buried a son Thomas, at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate.

[1] See Collier's Shakespeare, ii., 215.

St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield, that he was the son of Nicholas Wilson, "minstrel," (as he is more than once called) and that he was born on the 24th April, 1585.[1] "Much Ado about Nothing" was printed in 4to. in 1600, probably having been first acted in the preceding year; so that, if Wilson were, as is very likely, the original Balthazar, he was then a boy, no doubt distinguished for his skill, being the son of a professed musician, and for the excellence of his voice. This, however, is doubtful, because the 4to. edition of "Much Ado about Nothing," in 1600, has "Enter Balthazar, with music," and "Enter Jack Wilson" is found in the folio of 1623: therefore, Wilson may have succeeded to the part of Balthazar at a date subsequent to the original production of the comedy, and this may

[1] He had an elder brother named Adam, whose baptism is thus recorded in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate:—

"*Adam Wilson, sonne of Nicholas Wilson, minstrell.* 18 *Nov.*, 1582."

But for the discovery of John Wilson's parentage, we might very reasonably have supposed him a son of the old actor, Robert Wilson, who was one of the Earl of Leicester's players in 1574, and who was adopted into the Queen's players in 1583: he was buried at Cripplegate in 1600, as the register establishes:—

"*Buried. Robert Wilson, yoman (a player)* 20 *Nov.*, 1600."

He was, beyond doubt, the father of the Robert Wilson, the dramatist, whose name repeatedly occurs in Henslowe's "Diary," who was baptized at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, 22 Sept., 1579, married Mary Eaton, at the same church, 24 June, 1606, and died 22 October, 1610. He was buried at St. Bartholomew the Less. It has been hitherto thought that Robert Wilson, the elder, and actor, who died in 1600, and Robert Wilson, the younger, and dramatist, who died in 1610, were the same man.

have led to the mention of him so unusually by his own name, instead of that of the character he sustained.

We have not been able to ascertain whom, where, or in what year, he married, but he buried his wife at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 17th July, 1624: she is called "Jone, the wife of John Wilson, musitian," and it is stated, besides, in the register, that she came from the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less.[1] It is singular that her interment is recorded also at Bartholomew the Less, and in nearly the same form, in consequence, we suppose, of her having been a parishioner, although the funeral actually took place at St. Giles's, Cripplegate. In the register of St. Bartholomew the Less, it is thus given:—

17 *July*, 1624. *Johan, the wiffe of John Willson, of this parish, musitian, was buried.*

On the 3rd September following, John Wilson had a son (whose name is left blank in the register) buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, "from the house of George Sommerset, musitian," where, perhaps, the father was temporarily residing when he lost his wife about six weeks before. Respecting his own death, we can give no information.

[1] In this small parish seem to have resided at various dates a considerable number of poets and literary men. We are aware, from Barnfield's "Affectionate Shepherd," 1594, and from other sources, that Thomas Watson, author of "Εκατομπαθια, or Passionate Century of Love," printed about 1581, and of "The Tears of Fancie," 1593, was dead in 1594. From the registers of St. Bartholomew the Less we learn that he died, and was buried in that parish the year before the last production we have mentioned was published: the entry is this:—

"26 *Sept.*, 1592. *Thomas Watson, gent., was buried.*"

Gabriel Spencer, who was killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton Fields, in the autumn of 1598,[1] seems also at one time to have been an actor in the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, as they were called until James I. came to the throne. He had a very inferior part in "Henry VI., Part 3," as it has come down to us in the folio of 1623. This historical play is well known to have been founded upon "The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York," printed in 1595, and plausibly attributed to Robert Greene:[2] there we read—

Enter a Messenger;

and "Messenger" is the prefix to a short speech he

[1] See "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 51. In Dekker's "Satiromastix," 1602, it is asserted that Ben Jonson would have been hanged but for the intervention of some player: Tucca tells Horace (i.e., Ben Jonson)—"Thou art the true arraign'd poet, and shouldst have been hanged, but for one of these part-takers, these charitable, copper-lac'd Christians, that fetched thee out of Purgatory—players, I mean, theatrians, pouch-mouth stage-walkers." It would be highly characteristic of Shakespeare if we found, by any chance, that he was the player who had been instrumental in saving Ben Jonson from punishment for killing Gabriel Spencer. We have elsewhere remarked that there is much more truth in many of Dekker's imputations against Ben Jonson, in "Satiromastix," than Gifford was willing to allow.

[2] Gabriel Harvey, in his "Four Letters and Certaine Sonnets," 1592, names Greene's child ironically *In*fortunatus Greene, to which he was led by its real name, Fortunatus: when it was born we know not, but it was buried in 1593 from Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and the following is the registration of its interment at St. Leonard's:—

"1593. *Fortunatus Greene was buryed the same day.*"
[i.e., 12 August.]

The place from whence the body was brought, "Halywell," was added by the clerk in the margin. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, of course, mentions Greene's son, (Greene's Works, i., lxxiii) but until now it was not known

has to deliver; but when the drama was prohnson, in-Shakespeare's additions and alterations, in ingate. In 1623, we find the entrance of the Messenger thus changed—

Enter Gabriel,

and what he says has the prefix of "Gabriel."[1] Malone thought that the actor of the part of the Messenger was named Gabriel, but there was no player so called on the stage; and as it was not unusual then, and earlier, to designate the performers by their Christian appellations, such was no doubt the case in this instance, Gabriel having been put for Gabriel Spencer.[2] This must

what had become of him: the child survived its father not quite a year. The following, from the peculiar wording of the registration, as well as from the correspondence of dates, reads like the entry of the marriage of the ill-governed Robert Greene at St. Bartholomew the Less:—

"*The xvjth day of Februarie*, 1586, *was maryed Wilde, otherwise —— Greene, unto Elizabeth Taylor.*"

Harvey asserts that *Infortunatus* Greene was an illegitimate child, by the sister of "Cutting Ball."

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, v. 240.

[2] Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on 26 Sept., 1598, two days after the funeral of Gabriel Spencer, calls him only "Gabrell:"—"Sence you weare with me, I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatley, that is Gabrell, for he is slayen in hogesden fylldes by the hands of bengeman Jonson, bricklayer." This letter is signed "Phillippe Heglowe" by the ignorant scribe who was employed to write it for Henslowe: we mention this fact, because in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 51, it looks like a misprint. Heywood, in his "Apology for Actors," also calls Gabriel Spencer merely Gabriel.—Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43. Gabrel was the common vulgar pronunciation of Gabriel in Shakespeare's time, and so it stands printed in "The Taming of the Shrew" in the folio of 1623, p. 221:—

"And Gabrel's pumpes were all unpinkt i' th' heele."

Gabriel Spencer, of Hoxton, when "Henry VI., Part 3," was in a course of performance. Respecting Gabriel Spencer we have been able to learn no more than the day of his interment in the churchyard of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the register records that he had been killed (not adding by whom) and that the body had been brought from Hog Lane, where, perhaps, Spencer had resided: it is in these terms:—

1598. *Gabriell Spencer, being slayne, was buryed the xxiiij^th^ of Septemb. — Hogge Lane.*

The funeral therefore took place two days before Henslowe wrote to Alleyn, to acquaint him with the loss the company had sustained by the death of Spencer, in his duel with Ben Jonson.

We may be permitted, before we go farther, to notice two or three important points in the biography of Ben Jonson, that have not been previously ascertained. Having been born in 1574, he is supposed to have been married in 1594, but we have no where been able to trace that incident in any of the registers we have examined; nor have we any tidings respecting the death and burial of his daughter Mary, upon whom he wrote, with such captivating simplicity,

> "Here lies, to both her parents ruth,
> Mary, the daughter of their youth," &c.

We find, however, that at the end of 1599 he lost a son, named Joseph, who was buried on the 9th December, at St. Giles's, Cripplegate;[1] and that on the

[1] It is generally stated, on the somewhat vague authority of Anthony Wood (Ath. Oxon., iii., 737, edit. Bliss) that James Shirley (the last

1st October, the next year, "Benjamin Johnson, infant," was interred at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the various parish records the name is always spelt, not as Jonson himself spelt it, but Johnson, as he allowed it to stand on the title-page of his "Bartholomew Fair," 1631, and in some other places. The clerks, or whoever made the entries, gave the ordinary orthography of the name, and we have met with no single instance of the contrary. Another boy was christened Benjamin at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, a few years afterwards, the entry being precisely in this form:—

Benjamin Johnson, sonne to Benjamin, baptised 20 *Feb.*, 1607.

The 20th February, 1607, was 1608, according to our present division of the year, and Ben Jonson lost this son about three years afterwards: the child was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, where it had been christened, and the entry is in these terms:—

Benjamin Johnson, sonne to Benjamin, buried 18 *Nov.*, 1611.

We have met with no memorial of the son who expired

dramatist of the school of Shakespeare and his contemporaries) was master of the Grammar School at St. Albans in 1623 and 1624: he is supposed to have been succeeded by another master in 1625; and the following, hitherto unnoticed, registration of the baptism of a son at St. Giles, Cripplegate, would show that he had returned to London early in the latter year:—

"*Christened. Mathias, sonne of Mr. James Shirley, gentleman,* 26 *Feb.*, 1624;"

i. e. 1625. It also tends to prove that Shirley had not adopted the Roman Catholic tenets quite so early as has been supposed. (See "Life," by the Rev. A. Dyce, i., vii.) It is impossible to believe that when he became master of the Grammar School, founded by Edward VI. at St. Albans, he was an avowed Papist, and had relinquished a living on account of his religion.

in 1635, nor of any other children. Ben Jonson's wife died, as is supposed, about the year 1618. He subsequently visited Scotland, obtained the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels in 1621, and, as we apprehend, (but the fact is new) re-married at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in the summer of 1623. In the register of that parish we read as follows:—

Married. Ben. Johnson and Hester Hopkins. 27 *July*, 1623.

At this period Ben Jonson was in his forty-ninth year: whether any children were the fruit of this union we know not; but, after a lapse of eleven years, during which Ben Jonson produced nothing for the stage, we find him, in 1625, again turning his attention to dramatic poetry, as if for the increase of his domestic means; and his comedy "The Staple of News" was the consequence. The substitution of Aurelian Townsend[1] for Ben Jonson in the composition of masques for

[1] He was a housekeeper in Barbican, near the Earl of Bridgewater's, according to the note of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in Collier's "Shakespeare," i., xcvi. The following, from the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, refer to him and his family:—

"*Christened. George, sonne of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman*, 17 *Dec.*, 1622."

"*Christened. Mary, daughter of Aurelian Townsend, gent.*, 8 *April*, 1626."

"*Christened. James, sonne of Aurelian Townsend.* 13 *Dec.*, 1627."

"*Christened. Herbert, sonne of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman*, 23 *Sept.*, 1631."

"*Christened. Frances, daughter of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman*, 17 *Nov.*, 1632."

Of these the only child he lost (at least the only death entered in the same registers) was Herbert, who perhaps had been named after the Herbert family: he was buried 26th February, 1633-4.

the court, at the instance (according to Pory's letter to Sir Thomas Puckering) of Inigo Jones, happened several years after Ben Jonson had sustained a stroke of the palsy.

Our scrutiny of the registers of different parishes has enabled us to decide a point of considerable interest in relation to Inigo Jones, who was so much mixed up with early theatrical performances, especially at court. The ordinary biographical authorities inform us that "he was born about 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, London, where his father, Mr. Ignatius Jones, was a cloth-worker."[1] That his father was a cloth-worker is probably true, but he, like his son, was called Inigo. This point, as well as the exact period of the baptism of the great Inigo Jones, is settled by the following extract from the register of St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield:[2]—

Enego Jones, the sonne of Enego Jones, was expened the xix^th^ day of July, 1573.

[1] Chalmers's "Biographical Dictionary," xix., 96. See also Wood's "Ath. Oxon.," iii., 806., edit. Bliss.

[2] Joshua Sylvester, the highly popular poet, translator of "Du Bartas," and the friend of Ben Jonson, lived at one period in this parish, where several of his children are registered: until we found the following entries, nothing was certainly known of his family:—

"26 *July*, 1612. *Ursula, daughter of Joshua Sylvester, was baptized.*"

"4 *Feb.*, 1614. *A still-borne sonne of Josuah Sylvester was buried.*" He is said to have died in 1618; (Wood's Ath. Oxon., ii., 580, edit. Bliss) but, if the following relate to his widow, and she were "an honest woman," he could not have died until 1624 or 1625:—

"31 *August*, 1625. *Bonaventura Silvester, daughter of Mary Silvester, widdowe, out of Proctor's house, was baptized.*"

The clerk, in various other entries relating to the family, made strange work of the name of Inigo, and spelt it in almost every way but the right, although never in its Latin form, Ignatius. Where and at what time his father and mother married we have not ascertained, but Inigo Jones, the friend, and subsequently the enemy of Ben Jonson, lost his grandmother rather more than three years after he came into the world: her name was Anne, and she was recorded as "the mother of Enigo Jones;" meaning, of course, Inigo Jones, the father of the artist and architect. We do not hear of the family in the parish after 1579; but between the birth of Inigo Jones in 1573 and that year, he had various brothers and sisters born and buried, and as nothing has until now been heard of them, we have subjoined their registrations in a note.[1]

[1] From the register of St. Bartholomew the Less:—

"11 *Sept.*, 1575. *Philipp Johnes, the sonne of Enygoe Johnes, was expened.*"

"14 *Oct.*, 1575. *Philipp Johnes, the sonne of Inygoe Johnes, was buried.*"

"3 *Feb.*, 1576. —— *Johnes was expened, being the doughter of Enygo Jhones.*"

"12 *July*, 1577. —— *Jhones, the doughter of Enygo Johnes, was buryed.*"

"7 *Sept.*, 1578. *Anne Johnes, the doughter of Enygo Jones, was expened.*"

"19 *July*, 1579. *Anne Johans, the daughter of Enygo Johans, was buryed.*"

There are no other entries relating to the family in the same register, nor in any others that we have had the means of consulting. We may add that Webb in his inscription upon his master, Inigo Jones, mistakenly gave the date of his birth, "Natus Id. Julij, 1572."

We have already introduced the title of "Henry VI., Part 3," with reference to Gabriel Spencer; and in another scene of that drama, as it stands in the folio of 1623, we meet with the names of two other actors, which are inserted instead of those that might have been assigned to their parts. On p. 158 of that portion of the noble volume devoted to the "Histories" of Shakespeare, we find the following:—

Enter Sinklo and Humfrey, with crosse-bowes in their hands.

In the old "True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York," 1595, the stage-direction is "Enter two keepers," &c.[1] The name of Sinklo is also found as the prefix to a speech of a single line in the Induction to "The Taming of the Shrew,"[2] and no doubt both were meant for the same inferior performer, who also figures by name in the Induction to Marston's "Malcontent," 1604. It may be worth while, however, to mention, that his Christian name appears to have been William, that he lived in Cripplegate, and had children baptized at St. Giles's Church, in that parish, in 1610 and 1613.[3] He is called Sincklowe and Sinckley in the registers, but evidently the same man; and we take it that he had been an actor under Henslowe and Alleyn at the Fortune, (though his name does not occur in the "Diary" of the former) and on that account resided near their theatre, where he continued after he had joined the King's players.

[1] Collier's "Shakespeare," v., 276. [2] Ibid., iii., 111.

[3] The parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, which until the reign of Queene Anne included also what is now called St. Luke's, seems, like St. Bartholomew the Less, to have been of old a favourite residence of

Humfrey Jeffes, who is called only Humfrey in the stage-direction above quoted, where he is coupled with Sinklow, is not unfrequently mentioned by Henslowe,[1] and seems to have been an actor of some consideration when he was playing at the Rose and Fortune, though he perhaps lost part of his importance when he joined an association to which certainly the best actors appear to have belonged. Nevertheless, as we have elsewhere remarked, performers, even of eminence in that day, did not stand upon their dignity by any means with so much pertinacity as they have since done, and those who filled the parts of kings and heroes were content to support very inferior characters in the same production and on the same occasion. This partly arose from the smallness of the number of members of which an association usually consisted; and it was often a fortunate circumstance that capable actors were required to double their parts: it enabled dramatic authors, in the theatrical phrase, "to write up" even the por-

poets, players, pamphleteers, and printers. On p. 110 we have introduced a variety of entries from the registers relating to men no less celebrated than Thomas Deloney and Anthony Monday; and we may here add to these another name of an earlier date, but quite as celebrated, as the poetical author of the "Five Hundred Parts of Good Housbandry," which went through so many editions, and has been more than once reprinted in our own time. He lived in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, as may perhaps be presumed from the fact that he had a son christened there in 1572:—

"*Christened. Edmonde Tusser, the sonne of Thomas Tusser, gent.*, 13 *March*, 1572."

We did not trace the names of any other members of Tusser's family in the same registers.

[1] See his "Diary," pp. 99, 100, 102, 120, 218.

tions of a drama entrusted to messengers and attendants, in the confidence that their lines would not be thrown away upon incompetence, or made ridiculous by false pretension. Of this advantage no poet availed himself more frequently or effectually than Shakespeare; and those, who are not aware of the mode in which dramas were cast of old, have sometimes wondered how it happened that he could waste his poetry on characters so comparatively insignificant.

In the instance before us, Humfrey Jeffes had only the part of a keeper with a cross-bow, but there can be little doubt, were our information more complete, that we should find him fulfilling more important duties in the company of the King's players, though he might never attain such a rank as to entitle his name to appear in the fore-front of the volume prepared by Heminge and Condell. We feel sure, that several of the performers in their list had, at times, much more prominent characters in the plays of Shakespeare, than any we have been authorized to assign to them from the imperfect knowledge we possess of their station and abilities. The more we examine the subject, the more we find reason to lament the paucity of our materials; and we have now and then felt scruples in recording the small facts that have come down to us, with which, however, we have been compelled to be content.

We first hear of Humfrey Jeffes on 14th January, 1597-8, when he was playing under Henslowe and Alleyn at the Rose: he was one of Prince Henry's players in 1603, was transferred to the Prince Palatine in 1613, and must have joined the King's company be-

tween that date and 1618, when he died, having been buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on 21st August in that year, as "Humphrie Jeffes, plaier." We have every reason to believe that he lived in Southwark even after the Fortune in Golden Lane was opened, for "Mary Jeffes, daughter of Humfrey, a player," was baptized at St. Saviour's on 25th January, 1600-1. These are the only memorials of him that we have been able to recover.

Malone states that William Barksted, the author and actor,[1] was at one time a member of the King's company, but the evidence he produces only shows that he was one of the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1609, when he had a character in Ben Jonson's "Epicœne:" he was also a player in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Coxcomb," in 1613, and we recollect no distinct proof that he at any time belonged to the association acting at the Globe and Blackfriars.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that John Duke (another actor mentioned by Malone) belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's players

[1] In 1611 he published a poem called "Hiren, the faire Greeke," calling himself, on the title-page, "one of the servants of his Majesties Revels." In 1613, a play entitled "The Insatiate Countess" was printed with the name of John Marston upon the title-page; but when it was reprinted, in 1631, the name of William Barksted was in some copies substituted for that of Marston. The Duke of Devonshire has a copy with this peculiarity; and we have seen the edition of 1613 with the name of Marston cut out, and that of Barksted written instead of it in manuscript of the time.

[2] By "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn" it appears that Barksted was under Henslowe in 1611, and under Alleyn and Meade in 1616. Vide pp. 98, 130.

before James I. came to the crown: he was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," 1598, but his name does not occur in the list of players of "Every Man out of his Humour," 1599, nor in the patent of 1603. The fact is that he had joined Henslowe and Alleyn before 20 September, 1600,[1] and with the association of which they were the managers he seems to have continued. He was married, and lived in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and had four children christened at St. Leonard's at various dates between July, 1604, and January, 1609. Where and when he was buried we have no information. He had been an actor in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," before 1588, unless the John Duke, of the "plat" of that production, were his father, who was buried 22nd July, 1594.

The name of Beeston is extremely well known in our early stage-history, and Christopher, Robert, and William, all at various periods were actors. Christopher is the only one who seems at any period to have been one of the King's players, and that at an early date, while indeed they were still acting under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain. He had a part, probably as a young man, in "Every Man in his Humour," 1598, but afterwards united himself to a rival association, and we do not learn that he ever returned to his old quarters. He must have married early, for "Augustine Beeston, sonne of Christopher Beeston," was baptized at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 16th November, 1604. This child was doubtless named after

[1] Henslowe's Diary, pp. 182, 250.

Augustine Phillips, who in his will in 1605 called Christopher Beeston his "servant," meaning probably his theatrical apprentice. The whole of the Beeston family appears to have resided in Holywell Street, and the registers of St. Leonard's contain many entries regarding them.[1] We hear of Christopher Beeston in 1615, 1619, 1621, 1637, and at various intermediate dates, and he was at the head of the company occupying the Phœnix, or Cockpit theatre, in Drury Lane, till the breaking out of the Civil Wars: what became of him afterwards we have yet to learn. He seems to have made some modest pretensions to authorship, and addressed lines to his "good friend and fellow, Thomas Heywood," when the latter printed his "Apology for Actors" in 1612.[2]

In this Introduction, and in the following sheets, we have spoken, we believe, of every actor who is known to have belonged to the company, of which Shakespeare was a member, from the earliest times to the year when the first folio of his plays was published. We shall

[1] John Webster, author of "the Duchess of Malfi," often mentioned in the ensuing pages, and of various other plays, resided in Holywell Street, among the actors, although it may be doubted whether he ever trod the stage himself. Alice Webster, his daughter, was baptized at St. Leonard's on the 9th May, 1606. If the following, from the same registers, relate to his marriage, it must have occurred when he was very young:—

"*Married. John Webster and Isabell Sutton*, 25 *July*, 1590."

Our principal reason for thinking that it may refer to him is, that elsewhere in the register he is sometimes called merchant-tailor, a designation himself assumed in his City Pageant of 1624.

[2] See the Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 11.

be sorry if it is thought that in any instance we have been tedious in our details; but the reader must bear in mind, in reference to certain unavoidable repetitions, that many of our early actors were performers in the same plays, and were concerned in the same theatrical events. It will, we think, be found that, wherever it has been necessary to recur to a point, adverted to in some preceding memoir, it has been done with as much brevity as was consistent with intelligibility. If one name, in particular, appear to occur too often in the foot-notes, the author may, perhaps, be pardoned, on the ground that he was necessarily better acquainted with that edition of Shakespeare, than with any other.

We have now only to express our very sincere thanks to the clergy, and to the subordinate officers of the different churches, the registers of which we have had occasion to examine: in every instance they have evinced the utmost liberality, and have readily assisted lengthened searches, attended, as they were aware, with no pecuniary advantage to the investigators. Had only the customary fees been demanded, so great a drain upon the funds of the Shakespeare Society would, perhaps, hardly have been justified; but the reader, who proceeds no farther than the page to which his eye is now directed, cannot fail to be sensible of the authenticity, if he do not in all cases admit the value, of the information thus obtained. Our excuse (if any be wanted) is, that our volume relates to those who were, more or less prominently, engaged in the representation of the dramatic works of THE GREATEST NAME IN THE LITERATURE OF MANKIND.

Mr. Monro, one of the registrars of the Court of Chancery, communicated some important particulars connected with the Burbadge [1] family with the kindest alacrity, at the instance of the author's zealous and intelligent friend, Mr. F. Ouvry. No such inducement would have been necessary, had the author been personally known to Mr. Monro, who has since furnished him with some interesting information regarding Shakespeare, accompanied by remarks, evincing an intimate acquaintance with the most obscure points of the biography of our great dramatist.

For all the cheering aid received from Mr. Peter Cunningham, whose information is so extensive on matters connected with literary archaeology, and whose liberality is as enlarged as his knowledge, the only return the author can make is a heartily thankful acknowledgment. He regrets that he has no other names to record, for to him it is as great a pleasure to admit an obligation as to receive one.

J. P. C.

Kensington,
July 20th, 1846.

[1] Some apology may be necessary, and may here be inserted, for the non-observance in every instance of uniformity in the spelling of old names. In itself it is, as we have said already, a matter of small moment; and the appellations of our old authors and actors are so variously written and printed in the papers of the time, that some slight discordance has here and there crept in. Of course, where a document has been quoted literally, the orthography, whether of names or words, is in every case that of the original.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 7, line 9. James Burbadge, father of Richard, had a daughter named Helen (after her mother) buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, as we find by the register:—

"*Helen, daughter to James Burbige, buried December* 13, 1595."

Where and when she was born does not appear, nor why she was not buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where her father lived at the time.

Page 12, line 6. It seems by the will of Nicholas Tooley, in 1623, that Alice Burbadge had married a person of the name of Walker: he calls her "Alice Walker, the sister of my late Mr. Burbadge."

Page 30, line 9. We mean, of course, "in a new light" on this authority.

Page 30, line 21. Those who are advocates for the authenticity of the portrait of Shakespeare, as a painting by Burbadge, exhibited this year at the British Institution, and authoritatively imputed in the catalogue to the actor, will be of opinion that he had made farther advances in the art than we are at present disposed to believe.

Page 30, line 32. It ought to have been added here, that there was formerly at Dulwich College the head of a female painted by Burbadge, and thus described by William Cartwright, the actor, in his catalogue of the pictures he bequeathed to that institution in 1687:—

"A woman's head on a board, done by Mr. Burbage the actor—in an old gilt frame."

It is doubtful whether it is still in the custody of the authorities of the College, as some of Cartwright's pictures have been lost. There, however, still exists the portrait of Burbadge himself, which is described by Cartwright in these words:—

"Mr. Burbage's head in a gilt frame, a small closet-piece."

Had this likeness of himself been painted by Burbadge, no doubt Cart-

wright would have recorded the fact, as still more curious than the information that the woman's head was painted by Burbadge.

Page 118, line 14. Perhaps, instead of saying here "it was usual," we ought to have qualified the expression by stating that it was *not unusual.* It was more common in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

Page 118, line 19. We learn from the registers of St. Bartholomew the Less that, on the 10th February, 1605, William Kemp was married to Annis Heyward. This could hardly have been our actor. If married at all, he was probably married many years earlier; and the following, exactly copied from the register of St. Anne, Blackfriars, reads much more as if it applied to him:—

"*Lusey, daughter to Mr. Kempe—pla—buried* 25 *May*, 1593."

The letters *pla* may refer to the profession of Kempe, as *player*, but more probably to the *plague*, which carried off many persons in the parish in 1593. The cause of death in such cases is usually designated in the registers by the letters *pl* only, or *plaug.* A "Joan Kemp, daughter of William Kemp," was baptized at St. Andrew's, in the Wardrobe, on 25th March, 1619. In fact, the name then, as now, was extremely common.

Page 120, line 8. For "Smitterfield" read *Snitterfield.*

Page 120, line 15. The following, from the register of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, may refer to Pope's marriage:—

"*Thomas Pope and Elizabeth Baly, married* 20 *Dec.*, 1584."

Page 130, line 27. Philip Herne, the actor, mentioned in Henslowe's "Diary," married Avis Bryan on 21st November, 1607, at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. She was perhaps daughter to George Bryan.

Page 155, line 28. There is a woodcut of Thomas Sly and Kemp, the first playing, the other dancing, on the title-page of the "Nine Days' Wonder," 1600. Of William Sly a portrait was bequeathed to Dulwich College by William Cartwright: it is unfortunately now missing, but Cartwright's description of it, in his Catalogue, is in these words: "Mr. Sly's picture, the actor, in a gilt frame." The loss is deeply to be deplored, and it is hoped that the picture may yet be recovered. Lysons appears to have seen it in 1792, when he published vol. i. of his "Environs."—(See "Environs," i., 111.)

Page 179, line 27. We are strongly inclined to believe, that the "Mr. John Lowen," who died on 16th March, 1668-9, and was buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, was our actor, and that the "Mr. John

Lewen" of the register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, quoted by Malone, was a member of some other family. By the rate-books of St. Paul, Covent Garden, it appears that in 1660 John Lowen was living in Chandos Street: in 1661 "gone" is written against his name. In 1662 we find him in Bedford Street, and he was still there in 1667, the word "shop" being put opposite to his name, to indicate that he was a shop-keeper. This was doubtless the "Mr. John Lowen" who was buried at St. Paul's in the spring of 1669, but we are unable to prove that he was identical with the old player in Shakespeare: we should hardly have questioned it, but for the extreme age he must have reached, if it were he.

Page 206, line 26. We may add the following to this note: it is from "The New Cambridge Jester," printed in 1697; but it may be doubted whether it first appeared there:—

"Nathaniel Field, the player, being in company with a certain noble-man who was distantly related to him, the latter asked the reason why they spelt their names differently, the nobleman's family spelling it Feild, and the player spelling it Field? 'I cannot tell,' answered the player; 'except it be that my branch of the family were the first that knew to spell.'"

This anecdote serves to show how long the memory of Field survived; but the same story has since been told of others.

Page 211, line 1. This portrait was bequeathed to Dulwich College by William Cartwright. He left behind him, as we have stated, a catalogue of his pictures, which contains the following description of the portrait of Field:—

"Master Field's picture in his shirt, on a board; in a black frame filleted with gold. An actour."

The shirt is white, and it is embroidered with black lace.

Page 212, line 22. For "three or four years," read *two* or *three* years.

Page 218, line 31. In the State Paper Office (Domestic Papers, 1616, No. 334) is the copy of an epistle headed "Feild the player, letter to Mr. Sutton, preacher, att St. Mary Overs: 1616," which in fact is a brief defence of the stage against Mr. Sutton, who in his sermons had inveighed against them. After a pious and scriptural introduction, Field thus proceeds:—"If you merveyle, sir, why I beginne with a pro-

testation so zelous and sacred, or why I salute you in a phrase so confused and wrapped, I beseech you to understand that you have bene of late pleased (and that many tymes) from the holy hill of Sion, the pulpitt, a place sanctified and dedicated for the winning, not discouraging of soules, to send forth many those bitter breathings, those uncharitable and unlimited curses of condemnations against that poore calling it hath pleased the Lord to place me in:" and then he goes on to complain, that Mr. Sutton had not hesitated "particularly to point att me and some other of my quallity, and directly in our faces, in the publique assemblie, to pronounce us dampned." Field afterwards asserts that the preacher had endeavoured "to hinder the Sacrament, and banish me from mine own parishe church;" and goes on to maintain that "in God's whole volume (which I have studied as my best parte) I find not any trade of lief, except conjurers, sorcerers, and witches (ipso facto) dampned." He refers to the example of James I., whom he calls "our Joshua," as proof that players are to be tolerated; but he enters into no particulars, and deals only in general arguments in defence of plays and players. The paper has no signature.

Page 247, line 13. We may doubt whether "The Honest Man's Fortune" were originally acted by the King's players, as here, and elsewhere, supposed. The names at the foot of the *dramatis personæ*, in the folio of 1647, do not seem to be those of the association to which Shakespeare had belonged. If so, it would make a difference in the time when Field, Taylor, and Ecclestone, joined or rejoined the company of his Majesty's servants. We have written throughout upon the foundation that "The Honest Man's Fortune" was first produced by the King's players, and that the actors, named in the folio of 1647, were members of that association in 1613; but it may be an error. If it be an error, Field did not become a member of the company called the King's players until about three years before the death of Burbadge; nor Taylor, for the second time, until just after that event.

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thumous daughter of Richard Burbadge, who, having been baptized on the 5th August, 1619, (a fact noticed by previous historians) was buried on the 29th of April, 1625. We have no account of the death or burial of William Burbadge, but we shall have occasion to mention him again in the course of the following memoir.

There is every reason to believe that the Burbadges, who were so importantly connected with our early stage, originally came from Warwickshire. A family of the name was settled at Stratford-upon-Avon in the middle of the sixteenth century, and must have been of some consideration and respectability, because John Burbadge was bailiff of the borough in June, 1555, at which date we meet with the earliest trace of the Shakespeares there.[1] It also appears by various documents that Burbadges, like Shakespeares, were resident at a remote period in different parts of Warwickshire and the bordering counties. There was however a numerous family of the same name in Hertfordshire; and when arms were granted to Cuthbert Burbadge (the brother of Richard) in 1634, they were the same as those of the Burbadges of Hertfordshire, whence an inference may possibly be drawn that the families of Burbadge of Warwickshire and of Hertfordshire were in some way related.

The oldest member of the family connected with our early stage, as far as we have any information, was James Burbadge, the father of Cuthbert, Richard, and other children, whose

[1] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, ii., 78; and Collier's Shakespeare, i., 61.

[2] Chalmers' Suppl. Apol., 154, note k. Malone and Chalmers differed irreconcilably as to the etymology of the name of Burbadge: the first would have it a corruption of Boroughbridge, and the last, with more plausibility, would derive it from Boar-badge. We do not consider it a point of the slightest consequence, because to settle it either way explains no part of their history: we may mention that in different documents of the time we find the name spelt Burbage, Burbege, Burbadge, Burbidge, Burbedge, and Burbadg.

names will occur hereafter; but we are without the slightest clue to his reason for becoming an actor. It was a profession in bad repute before Elizabeth came to the throne, and long afterwards; and poverty, peculiar circumstances of position, or a strong passion for theatrical performances, could alone have induced an individual to attach himself to it. We first hear of him as one of the players of the Earl of Leicester, when, in May, 1574, that nobleman obtained a patent for James Burbadge, (we give the names in the order in which they occur in the instrument,) John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, authorizing them to act in any part of the kingdom, including, in express terms, the city of London — "as well within our city of London, and liberties of the same, as also within the liberties and freedoms of any our cities, towns, boroughs, &c., whatsoever, as without the same, throughout our realm of England."[1]

We may presume, from the place his name occupies, that James Burbadge was then at the head of the company; but we cannot tell how long he had been so, nor, indeed, how long he had been a member of the association. We know that Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a body of theatrical servants, travelling about the country under the sanction and shelter of his patronage, as early as 1559; for in June of that year he addressed a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting that they might receive from him the same license for acting in Yorkshire that they had obtained from several other Lords Lieutenant of counties.[2] The individual players are not there enumerated; but, as James Burbadge had advanced to the first place in the company in 1574, it may not be too

[1] History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, i., 211, where the instrument, dated 7th May, 1574, is set out at large from the original Privy Seal preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster.

[2] Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," i., 307. The letter of Sir Robert Dudley is, however, printed more accurately from the original, now in the library of the Heralds' College, in the "Introduction"

much to suppose that he had been a member of it for some years, if he were not so in 1559. That he was an actor, and not merely a manager, we may be quite certain, because at that date actors only were members of theatrical associations; but no existing evidence shows the nature of the parts he represented. He may, or may not, have been a good performer; and the mere fact that his son obtained the highest eminence in the profession can prove little or nothing, since we are aware of many instances in which the sons of actors of a very inferior grade have been extraordinarily and deservedly successful; while, on the other hand, the sons of first-rate tragedians and comedians have turned out only qualified to sustain the most subordinate characters. Something may no doubt be inferred from the place the name of James Burbadge occupies with his four fellows, two of whom arrived at great distinction; but, at all events, early in his career, as far as a judgment can be formed from the pieces that have come down to us, the drama was not in a condition to afford much scope for the display of ability, whether serious or comic.

The players of the Earl of Leicester, fortified by the patent their patron had procured for them in 1574, seem very soon to have taken measures to establish themselves permanently in London. They had performed a piece at court, called "Mamillia," on 28th December, 1573,[1] and "Philemon and Philecia" on Shrove Monday, 1574;[2] and we can have no difficulty in deciding, that they must have been called upon to lend their aid for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, when she visited Lord Leicester at Kenilworth in the summer of 1575.

to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of John Northbrooke's "Treatise against Dicing, Plays," &c., p. vii. In January, 1560-61, "the L. Robert Dudley's Players" performed before the Queen. See Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," printed for the Shakespeare Society.

[1] "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," edited by Mr. P. Cunningham, p. 51.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

One of the persons who has left behind him an account of the preparations and festivities on that occasion was named Lanham, or Langham, and may have been, if indeed we cannot say he probably was, nearly related to the John Lanham, who stands third in the players' patent of 1574.[1] After the company had concluded at Kenilworth, they seem to have entered upon the project of preparing a building, to be exclusively devoted to the representation of plays, in the precinct and liberty of the dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars, London. It is to be borne in mind, that ever since the dissolution of that religious house it had been used as the depository of the machinery, dresses, &c., for court disguisings, masques, and entertainments:[2] for this reason the attention of James Burbadge and his associates may have been especially directed to that neighbourhood; but it is possible that they would not have gone there at all, but for the hostility of the Lord Mayor, and other city authorities; who, notwithstanding the terms of the patent of 1574, and the support given to players by the

[1] The title of this singular and interesting tract runs precisely thus:—we give it literally, because we have never seen it so quoted, and the author was conceited in his orthography:—"A Letter: Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwik Sheer, in this Soomerz Progress, 1575, iz signified: from a freend, officer attendant in the Coourt, vnto hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London." It is without the name of either printer or publisher, but the author at the end calls himself "Mercer, Merchant-aventurer, and Clark of the Council chamber door, and also keeper of the same." His "Letter" is addressed "vntoo my good freend Master Humfrey Martin, Mercer."

[2] In the earlier Revels' Accounts, those, for instance, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII., charges are sometimes made for conveying machinery, &c., from the Blackfriars (where the royal wardrobe was also situated) to Greenwich, Richmond, &c. The apparel, &c., for court masques, was afterwards kept at St. John's Gate, near Smithfield, part of another dissolved monastery.

court and nobility, succeeded in excluding the actors of the Earl of Leicester, and several companies, from the immediate jurisdiction of the corporation. The precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars was out of the limits of that jurisdiction, but still in the very heart of the metropolis.

The theatre there opened was rather the conversion to dramatic purposes of a previously existing edifice, than an entirely new structure. In a remonstrance by certain inhabitants, presented against the undertaking, it is alleged that "one Burbadge (meaning, of course, the father of Richard) hath lately bought certain rooms in the same precinct, near adjoining unto the dwelling-houses of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Hunsdon; which rooms the said Burbadge is now altering, and meaneth very shortly to convert and turn the same into a common playhouse."[1] The subscribers to this remonstrance objected to the scheme, on the ground that it would create a nuisance in the neighbourhood; but there is no doubt that their representation was unavailing, because the theatre was completed, and ere long opened—not indeed as "a common playhouse," which the inhabitants apprehended, but as "a private theatre."[2] It was, however, so far "a common playhouse," that all persons were admitted on the payment of money at the doors: it was called "a private theatre," mainly by reason of its smaller dimensions, and from the circumstance that it was covered in from the weather. What were termed public theatres were only partially roofed, over the stage and rooms, or boxes; and their form, and the nature of the accommodation in them for spectators, were adopted from inn-yards with surrounding galleries, which, after churches ceased to be used, were among the earliest places employed for dramatic representations.

[1] History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, i., 227.

[2] The known distinctions between a common, or public, and a private theatre may be seen detailed in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," iii., 335.

At the period of the building of the Blackfriars theatre, we may be certain that James Burbadge had been some time married, and that he had then two sons living, Richard and Cuthbert, and perhaps a daughter, of whom we shall say more presently. Chalmers gave the maiden name of the mother of Richard Burbadge as "Ellen, the daughter of Mr. Brayne, of London," but it is certain that she was buried by the name of Hellen;[1] which may raise a doubt, whether her name were really Helen or Ellen. Chalmers appears to have derived his knowledge of the mother from the heraldic visitation of London in 1634, when Cuthbert Burbadge, the brother of Richard, was still living, and gave the information. We may therefore conclude, that the maiden name of the mother of James Burbadge was Ellen Brayne; and when Chalmers adds that Cuthbert Burbadge did not, in 1634, know who was his grandfather,[2] he must have meant his *paternal* grandfather, because he was well aware that his maternal grandfather was "Mr. Brayne, of London:" his paternal grandfather was, of course, a Burbadge, and probably of Warwickshire; but what was his Christian name, or his occupation, Cuthbert Burbadge could not tell.

Much new light is thrown upon the early history of the Burbadges, and upon the construction of the Blackfriars theatre, by several documents recently discovered in the records of the Court of Chancery, unknown, of course, to Malone and Chalmers.[3] We shall insert accurate copies of these papers pre-

[1] She outlived her husband many years, and was interred at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the entry in the register runs precisely as follows:—"1613. Hellen Burbadge, widow, was buryed the xv. of March." This, in fact, was 15th March, 1614; but Chalmers ("Apology," p. 386) who must have examined the register very inattentively, gives the date 8th May, 1613.

[2] Suppl. Apol., p. 153.

[3] No suspicion of their existence was entertained when the author of the present volume printed his "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage." We are indebted for them to Mr. Monro, one of the registrars.

sently; but it may be as well first to state distinctly and succinctly the points they establish. By a bill filed in Chancery anterior to the 4th November, 1590, it appears that the ground on which the playhouse stood was let to James Barbadge, on lease, by Giles Allyn; but, probably, not having funds for its construction, he applied to Mr. Brayne, his wife's father, who advanced to him £600, on condition that James Burbadge should assign to him a moiety of the theatre and its profits. That assignment does not seem to have been executed in the lifetime of Mr. Brayne; and after his death, his widow, Margaret Brayne (or Braynes, as she is once called in the title of the cause) was obliged to commence proceedings in equity, to compel a fulfilment of the contract. The earliest record of these proceedings is the following:—

4th November, 1590.

Between Margaret Braynes, executrix of John Braynes, deceased—plaintiff; James Burbage, and Richard and Cuthbert Burbage—defendants.

Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed by Mr. Scott, being of the plaintiff's counsel, that she having exhibited a bill into this court against the defendant, for and concerning the moiety of the theatre and other tenements which the said James Burbage was, by the agreement had between him and the plaintiff's late husband, to assign to the executors, administrators, or assigns, of her said husband, and to suffer him and them to enjoy it for and during the whole term to come in a lease made of the said theatre, or of the ground whereupon it stands, and of other the premises, to the said James Burbage by one Gyles Allyn, he the said James hath not only put in an ill demurrer to that bill, which hath been overruled by order of this court; but also doth, by himself and the other defendants, take away the whole gains and benefit of the said theatre, and other the premises, from the plaintiff, albeit she and her husband have been at very great charges in building thereof, to the sum of £600, and did for a time enjoy the moiety of the premises, according to the true meaning of the said agreement. It is therefore ordered, that if the defendant shall not by this day sevenight show unto this court

good cause to the contrary, then a sequestration shall be granted of the moiety of all the issues and profits of the premises, until the matter shall be here heard or determined, or otherwise ordered by this court.

To her bill James Burbadge and his two sons Richard and Cuthbert (who were joined with him) put in a demurrer, which was alleged to be insufficient; and on the 23d March, 1590-1, the whole matter was referred to Dr. (afterwards Sir Julius) Cæsar: the name of Richard Burbadge is omitted in the title.

23rd March, 1590.

Between Margaret Brayne, widow—plaintiff; Cutbeard Burbage and James Burbage—defendants.

Whereas the defendants have been examined upon interrogatories at the plaintiff's suit, touching the breach of an order made in this court between the said parties, it is ordered by the Right Worshipful the Master of the Rolls, that the consideration of their examinations be referred to Mr. Doctor Cæsar, one of the masters of this court, to the end he may consider and report to this court, whether the said defendants, or either of them, have committed any contempt or not, that further order may be taken thereupon accordingly; and the said defendants, or their attornies, are to be warned when the premises shall be so considered of. POWLE.

On 24th April following, for some unexplained reason, Dr. Carew (another Master in Chancery), was required to report upon the demurrer of the widow Brayne.

24th April, 1591.

Between James Burbage—plaintiff; Margaret Brayne and Robert Myles—defendants.

Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed on the plaintiff's behalf, that the said defendants have put in a very frivolous and insufficient demurrer to the plaintiff's bill, without showing any good causes thereof: therefore, the consideration of the said bill and demurrer is referred to Mr. Doctor Carew, one of the masters of this court, to the end he may consider and report to this court whether the said demurrer be sufficient or not: if not, then a subpœna is awarded against the defendants, to make a perfect and direct answer to the plaintiff's bill of

complaint, and to all the material points thereof; and the defendants' attorney is to be warned when the premises shall be so considered of.

ROTH.

In July Dr. Hone was substituted for Dr. Cæsar, with directions "to hear and end the cause" between the parties, if possible.

20th July, 1591.

Between Margaret Brayne, widow—plaintiff; Cutbert Burbage and James Burbage—defendants.

Forasmuch as Mr. Doctor Cæsar, one of the masters of this court, to whose consideration the defendants' examinations upon interrogatories touching the breach of an order made in this court was referred, cannot now attend the same; it is therefore by the Right Worshipful the Master of the Rolls ordered, that Mr. Doctor Hone, one other of the masters of this court, shall consider as well of the same contempt, as also hear and end the cause in question between the said parties in this court, if he can: if not, that he certify into this court as well what he shall find touching the said contempt, as also his opinion of the said cause, and by whose default he cannot end the same; whereupon such further order shall be taken therein as to this court shall be thought meet.

We do not hear of the matter again until 28th May, 1596, about eight months before the death of James Burbadge, when we find Robert Miles, whose name has before occurred, standing in the place of the widow Brayne, as plaintiff: his relation to the parties does not appear, but the record of the proceeding in Chancery shows, that between 1591 and 1596 an "arbitrament" had been agreed upon, and that Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge had given one bond of £400 for the performance of the assignment of a "moiety of the lease of the theatre and of the profits thereof," and another bond of £200 for the performance of the award.

28 May, 1596.

Between Robert Miles — plaintiff; James Burbage and Cutbert Burbage—defendants.

The matter in question between the said parties, touching the moiety of the lease of the theatre in the bill mentioned, and the profits thereof,

coming this present day to be heard in the presence of the counsel learned on both parts, it was alleged by the defendant's counsel that the said plaintiff had not only a bond of £400 made unto him by the defendants for the assigning over of the same moiety, whereupon a demurrer is now joined at the common law, but also another bond of £200 made for the performance of an arbitrament made between the said parties, which the said plaintiff pretendeth to be also forfeited by the defendants, and therefore, as the said counsel alleged, the plaintiff hath no need of the aid of this court for the said lease and profits: it is thereupon thought fit, and so ordered by this court, that the said plaintiff shall proceed at the common law against the said defendants upon the same bonds, to the end it may be seen whether the plaintiff can relieve himself upon the said bonds or not; but if it fall out that the plaintiff can't be relieved upon the said bonds, then the matter shall receive a speedy hearing in this court, and such order shall be given thereupon as the equity of the case shall require: and in the mean time the matter is reynd in this court.

On this account the defendants, James and Cuthbert Burbadge, contended that the plaintiff Miles was barred in equity, and that he must proceed at common law for the recovery of the money secured by the bonds. What became of the suit afterwards we are without information; but these particulars cannot be devoid of interest, inasmuch as they relate directly to the origin of one of the theatres for which Shakespeare was a writer from the beginning to the end of his career.

In order to give these proceedings in equity in connection, we have necessarily anticipated various circumstances. We now return to the intelligence respecting the Burbadge family which we derive from other sources.

In the spring of 1576 James Burbadge and his wife resided in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and there they continued during the whole of their lives afterwards, most likely in the very house which Richard Burbadge subsequently occupied until his death. Cuthbert Burbadge had also a house in the same street, as is distinctly proved by the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for, whenever a baptism or a death in

in the Burbadge family is there recorded, we find "Holywell Street" (or Halliwell Street, as it is usually there spelt) at the end of the memorandum. Such was the case with the earliest mention of James Burbadge, where the baptism of a daughter, named Alice, is thus entered:—

Alice Burbage, d. of Jeames Burbage, bap. March xith, 1575. Halliwell Street.

Chalmers placed this event a year later, viz., 11th March, 1576-7, which is evidently an error for 1575-6. Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge must have been older than Alice, but where either of them was born, or at what precise date, we have no information:[1] it was probably in the country, and there is ground for believing that Richard Burbadge, if not his brother, was born in Warwickshire. In the copy of a letter, written most likely in 1609, it is stated that Richard Burbadge was "of one county, and indeed almost of one town" with Shakespeare:[2] hence we might conclude that Richard Burbadge was born near Stratford-upon-Avon, of which town we have already seen that a John Burbadge was bailiff in 1555.

At about the date when the Blackfriars theatre was constructed, there were two playhouses in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, one distinguished as The Theatre, and the other called the Curtain. In both of these James Burbadge may have been interested, and his continued residence in Holywell Street may fairly lead to the conclusion, that he was a sharer in at least one of them. Malone speculates that Richard Burbadge "may originally have played at the Curtain;"[3] but if he did so, his performances must have been of

[1] The registers at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, go back to the first year of the reign of Elizabeth; but, as already stated, they contain no entry relating to the Burbadges until March, 1575-6: consequently, nothing is to be found in them relative to the births of Cuthbert or Richard Burbadge.

[2] Collier's Shakespeare, i., ccxxv.

[3] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 182.

infantine characters, and he may also have sustained similar parts at the Blackfriars theatre at its opening, about the year 1576; but we have not a particle of evidence upon the point, nor do we at all know how old he was at the time the latter house was constructed.

We have searched the registers of several churches in the vicinity of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the hope of meeting with an entry of the baptism of Richard Burbadge, but without avail: our conjecture is that he was somewhat younger than Shakespeare. Upon one point in his early history we have distinct testimony, viz., that he was upon the stage, and filled a prominent place in a company, before 1588. Richard Tarlton (the most celebrated comedian of his own, or perhaps of any day, who may possibly have stood godfather to Richard Burbadge, and have given him his own Christian name [1]) was the author of a dramatic performance (consisting, as far as we can now judge, of dumb show, and extemporal dialogue on a preconcerted plot) called "The Seven Deadly Sins:" it appears to have been in two parts, and the "plat," or "platform" of the second part, as it had been agreed upon by the actors, has come down to us, and is printed in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage."[2] In this production, the name of Richard Burbadge several times occurs, and he sustained (as well as we can decide from the place his name occupies

[1] This speculation may derive some trifling support from the fact, that James Burbadge and Richard Tarlton were near neighbours in London, both living in Holywell Street, Shoreditch. They were also, probably, fellow sharers in the same company, for it is known that Tarlton was a performer at the Curtain theatre.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 394. It is also found, but incorrectly, in Malone's Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 348. The original is still preserved at Dulwich College; and the production of it is assigned to Tarlton, on the authority of Thomas Nash, in his "Strange Newes," 1592, Sign. H 2—"Hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous readers, &c., have I imitated Tarlton's play of the seaven deadly sinnes in my plot of Pierce Penilesse? whom

with those of other actors on the stage at the same time) the two characters of Gorboduc and Tereus: in this remarkable relic we read—

Enter King Gorboduc with two Counsaillors. R. Burbadg, Mr. B.ian, Th. Goodale.

Enter Tereus. Philomele. Julio. R. Burbadge, Ro. R. Pall., I. Sink.[1]

We may thus reasonably infer that Richard Burbadge had the parts of Gorboduc and Tereus; Brian and Goodale being the two counsellors in the first, and Pallant and Sinklow being Philomele and Julio in the second scene. The two out of the seven deadly sins here illustrated would seem to have been envy, as displayed in the history of Gorboduc and his sons Ferrex and Porrex, and lechery, as explained in the fable of Tereus and Philomele. This representation must have taken place prior to 1588, because Tarlton, the contriver of the piece, was buried in September of that year.[2] From the duties at

hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke?" In 1593, this tract by Nash was republished under the title of "The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse, or Strange Newes," &c.

[1] "Ro. R. Pall" was probably only meant for one actor, whose name was Robert Pallant: the copyist by mistake indicated the Christian name of Pallant twice, once by "Ro," and immediately afterwards by "R." A person of the name of Pallant continued connected with the stage in 1624, but he officiated as one of the musicians to the company of the King's players. This may have been the son of "Ro. R. Pall;" or, in his later years, after he ceased to appear on the stage, he may have become one of the performers in what we now call the orchestra, or, as it was then sometimes termed, the music-room: not a few of our elder actors were skilful upon several instruments. "I. Sink." was an abbreviation for John Sinklow, who sustained inferior parts in Shakespeare's plays, and whose name, instead of that of the character he filled, is three times printed in the first folio of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies."

[2] At St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the registry is precisely as follows: we give it with particularity, because it has never been literally

this period thrown upon Richard Burbadge, we are warranted in stating that in or before 1588 he was a prominent member of the company to which he belonged.

What was his age at the date to which we are now referring we have no means of knowing. Gorboduc, as already noticed, has two sons, grown up and competitors for the crown, and we can hardly suppose that the representative of their father could have been a mere boy; those who acted his sons were certainly men, and we may at least conjecture that Richard Burbadge was of age in 1588.[1] This supposition would carry back his birth to about the year 1567, making him three years younger than the great author in whose dramas he subsequently acted so many of the leading characters.

In 1582, Richard Burbadge had lost a sister (of the same name as Shakespeare's sister, who was born in 1569) but whether she were older or younger than the subject of our memoir cannot be determined: the record of her baptism is not to be found, but that of her burial runs as follows in the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch:—

1582. Joane Burbadge, the daughter of James Burbedge, was buried the same day (18th August).

This is one of the memoranda which Malone and Chalmers passed over without discovery: we may conclude, perhaps, that, like Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge, Joan was born and

quoted, and because it ascertains that Tarlton (supposing *Torrelton* to mean him, as no doubt it does) lived, like many other actors, in Holywell Street, near James Burbadge.

"1588. Richard Torrelton was buryed the third of September—Haliwell Street."

It has never been mentioned that the name of Tarlton is so peculiarly spelt in the register, and it occurs nowhere else in the same form.

[1] We have already seen (p. 8) that in 1590 he was made, with his father and brother, a joint defendant in a proceeding in chancery respecting the Blackfriars theatre.

registered out of London, perhaps while her parents were making some theatrical expedition into the provinces.

Another important circumstance warrants the belief that Richard Burbadge in 1588 had arrived at the age of maturity. In 1589, when the company occupying the Blackfriars (then, as we apprehend, called the Queen's players, and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain's servants [1]) sent in a representation to the Privy Council, in order that their performances at that theatre might not be interrupted, inasmuch as they, unlike some other associations, had given no ground of offence, we find the name of Richard Burbadge immediately following that of his father in a list of sixteen performers, among whom Shakespeare came the twelfth.[2] James Burbadge was the owner, or part owner, of the playhouse, and head of the association, circumstances that may have given his son Richard an importance not otherwise due to his rank in the profession; but still we may feel pretty confident, that he would not have occupied that place, preceding such performers as Lanham, Pope, Peele, Phillips, Kempe, Johnson, and others, (to say nothing here of our great dramatist) if he had not reached such a time of life as rendered him capable of supporting characters requiring a person of manly age and figure.

Another material fact, which occurred about four years afterwards, tends to the same conclusion, and is connected with one of the most important events in our early stage-history.

The Globe theatre, on the Bankside, Southwark, was built in 1594; or, at all events, on the 23rd December, 1593, Richard Burbadge entered into an agreement with a carpenter of the name of Peter Street to construct it of certain materials

[1] So they continued to be called until the accession of James I., who, by the patent of 17th May, 1603, took them into his own service, after which they were known as the King's players. In 1590, however, Elizabeth had two companies in her pay. See "Revels' Accounts," Introduction, p. xxxii.

[2] Collier's Shakespeare, i., cviii.

and of specified dimensions.[1] We may suppose, in the absence of positive evidence, that at this period his father (who died, as we shall see, not very long afterwards) had relinquished his connection with the stage: if not, James Burbadge would, probably, have been the party to subscribe a bond to Street for the payment of the money as soon as the work was performed. It is more than likely, therefore, that in December, 1593, the father having quitted the profession, his son Richard had succeeded him as the head of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, as they were then designated, a position he would hardly have taken, had he not been a man of perhaps five or six and twenty, which would have been his age, supposing him to have been born in 1567. His professional rank and standing will therefore fully account for the situation in which we find him at the period when the Globe was constructed.

We are not able to speak with any degree of positiveness as to the mode in which the money was raised for this undertaking: it is very possible that Richard Burbadge was the sole proprietor of the new theatre, but more probable that he had partners, and that those partners were some of the principal sharers in the Blackfriars, each putting down a certain sum for the purpose. We take it that, as leader of the company, Richard Burbadge stood forward to represent the general body of his fellows, and, having first secured himself, for greater convenience had agreed to become personally and individually responsible to the builder. Street may not unnaturally have preferred this security, from a man of known station and substance, to the separate liability of the different members of the association, who had various, and perhaps some of them only small, shares in the speculation. One of these sharers was our great dramatist, who probably left the conduct of the business to persons who were engaged in the more active duties of the profession: he was, precisely at this period, em-

[1] Malone's Inquiry, p. 87.

ployed upon the printing of his "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece;" and in the Life of Shakespeare[1] some reasons are assigned for supposing that the munificent gift of Lord Southampton might be made to him at this time, as a return for the dedication of the two poems, and with a view to the expense their author might incur as part owner of the Globe.

About two years after the Globe was completed, (supposing it to have been finished late in 1594) and when the company thus had a regular place for dramatic performances besides the Blackfriars theatre, which had been in constant use for that purpose during nearly twenty years, the association commenced the repair and enlargement of the latter. This step alarmed some of the inhabitants of the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, where the Lord Mayor and corporation had no authority, and they therefore made a representation against it to the Privy Council: eight members of the company presented a counter petition, in which the name of Richard Burbadge stands second, following that of the celebrated actor of clown's parts, Thomas Pope. What weight this circumstance may deserve we are not prepared to say; and in the same instrument the name of Shakespeare follows those of Pope, Burbadge, Hemings, and Phillips, and precedes those of Kempe, Sly, and Tooley. Thomas Pope in 1596 might be at the head of the comedians, and Richard Burbadge at the head of the tragedians of the company: Pope was unquestionably a man of eminence and property, and died in the autumn of 1603, or in the spring of 1604, leaving shares in the Curtain theatre, in Shoreditch, as well as in the Globe, on the Bankside; but nothing is said in his will of any interest he might have had in the Blackfriars.[2]

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, i., cxlvii.

[2] His will bears date 22nd July, 1603, and was proved on the 13th February following. See Chalmers's Apol., p. 387, and Suppl. Apol.,

We have mentioned the characters Burbage sustained in the Second Part of "The Seven Deadly Sins,"[1] but it is almost certain that he had previously performed in "The Spanish Tragedy," by Thomas Kyd, if not in "Jeronimo," which is to be looked upon as a first part of that drama.[2] It is not to be disputed that he was the hero of "The Spanish Tragedy," at whatever date it may have been produced, since that part is distinctly assigned to him in a manuscript epitaph, which we shall insert at large hereafter, and which contains the following passage:—

> Jeronimo
> Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:
> They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
> By horrid outcry.

p. 162. He directs that his body shall be buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and he leaves £20 for his funeral and for "the setting up of some monument of me in the said church;" but it does not appear that any monument of him was set up, and it is unlikely that he was buried at St. Saviour's, as his name is not found in the registers, which were very regularly kept. The probability is that he died in the country, whither he may have gone to avoid the plague. See the Memoir of Thomas Pope in a subsequent part of this volume.

[1] The name of Burbadge occurs in the "plot" of another drama of the same kind, called "The Dead Man's Fortune," which may be found in Malone's Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 257; but as there is no indication of the Christian name of the actor, and as the "plot" seems very old, older than any other extant piece of the same kind, it is just possible that the "Burbadge" may have been James, the father of Richard. It is not at all clear what was the character either of them sustained; it may have been only that of a messenger, for our old actors not merely frequently doubled their parts, but took very inferior duties when occasion required it.

[2] Both these dramas are contained in "Dodsley's Old Plays," vol. iii., last edit. There was but one old edition of "Jeronimo," in 1605, but there are many known impressions of "The Spanish Tragedy," beginning in 1599 (which certainly was not the first) and ending in 1633.

The line

They cannot call thee from thy naked bed

is copied almost literally from an often quoted and ridiculed line in "The Spanish Tragedy,"

What outcry calls me from my naked bed?

Act ii., sc. 2.

"The Spanish Tragedy" may have been originally brought out in 1586, or 1587, about the period when we suppose Shakespeare to have come to London as a member of a theatrical company.

We have mentioned "Jeronimo," as entitled to be considered the first part of "The Spanish Tragedy;" and it most likely, though by no means necessarily, preceded it in date of composition.[1] It is not improbable, if Richard Burbadge represented the hero of it, that it was produced on the stage before he had acquired his full growth: nevertheless, he must always have been somewhat below the middle height, and the epitaph just above quoted informs us that his stature was small:—

Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
Might thoroughly from thy face be understood.

Several passages may be adduced from "Jeronimo" to establish that whoever played the chief character was of small dimensions; and one or two of these, as it is a question relating to the personal appearance of Burbadge, will not be out of place: in one scene Jeronimo exclaims,

I'll not be long away;
As *short my body*, long shall be my stay;

and afterwards,

My mind's a giant, *though my bulk be small.*

Even supposing Burbadge to have been a youth when he first

[1] It sometimes happened that a drama having met with extraordinary success, a *first* part was afterwards written to it in haste, in order to take advantage of the tide of popularity: Henslowe's Diary supplies various instances in point, and such may have been the case with "Jeronimo."

recited these passages, and to have added to his height afterwards, we are warranted in concluding that he was rather a short man, who made up for personal deficiency by the magnitude and quality of his understanding: as in the modern instances of Garrick and Kean, it did not prevent Burbadge from filling characters which seem almost necessarily to require elevated stature, as well as dignified deportment. We know, on the authority of the manuscript epitaph, that he was Coriolanus and Brutus, besides being the recognized representative of the parts of Prince Henry and Henry the Fifth. We may be tolerably confident that he was well formed, because he was not only the original Romeo, but at different dates Hamlet, Pericles, and Othello. In all probability the tragedy of "Hamlet" was first performed in the winter of 1601, or in the spring of 1602,[1] and by this date Burbadge would seem to have become rather corpulent: Shakespeare, aware of this defect, as regards an ideal representative of the Danish Prince, makes the Queen allude to it in the fencing scene in the last act:—

King. Our son shall win.
Queen. He's fat and scant of breath.—
Here, Hamlet; take this napkin; rub thy brows.

On this account his figure, late in his career, may have been better adapted to Richard the Third; but that historical play was, perhaps, produced in 1594 or 1595, and at that date Burbadge may not have been more than twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. That he acted Richard the Third we have upon several pieces of contemporary evidence: the epitaph, before mentioned, states it positively; an anecdote,

[1] It has been supposed by some, on the authority of Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Joseph Taylor was the original Hamlet, but Wright only speaks of Taylor in the part, without stating that he was the first actor of it: the manuscript epitaph gives it distinctly to Burbadge, and we may be confident that Taylor did not take it until after the death of the original representative.

real or imaginary, respecting Shakespeare and Burbadge, contained in Manningham's Diary, under the date of 1601,[1] confirms the statement; and it is farther corroborated by Bishop Corbet in his *Iter Boreale*, where he tells us that his host at Leicester,

> —— when he would have said King Richard died,
> And call'd a horse! a horse! he Burbadge cried;

substituting the name of the player for the part he represented. To the list of characters in plays by Shakespeare sustained by Burbadge we have still to add Lear and Shylock, so that we may safely decide that he was the chosen representative of all, or nearly all, the serious parts in the productions of our great dramatist. In reference to his personation of Othello, we may cite the concluding stanza of a ballad on the story of that tragedy, obviously written subsequent to the death of Burbadge, and handed down to our time in a manuscript of about the reign of Charles I.

> Dick Burbadge, that most famous man,
> That actor without peer,
> With this same part his course began,
> And kept it many a year.
> Shakespeare was fortunate, I trow,
> That such an actor had:

[1] As this anecdote has been extracted from the MS. (Harl. 5353,) in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 331, and from thence necessarily transferred to various recent biographies of Shakespeare, it is not necessary to reprint it here: the only fact it can be said to establish is, that Burbadge was the original actor of the part of Richard the Third. A quotation apposite to the anecdote may be made from Middleton's "Mad World, my Masters," act v., sc. 2, where the courtesan tells Sir Bounteous, "O' my troth, an I were not married, I could find in my heart to fall in love with that player now, and send for him to a supper."

If we had but his equal now,
For one I should be glad.[1]

How far the knowledge on the part of Shakespeare, that he had a performer at his service, on whom he could always rely, may have tended to the perfection of some of the great works he has left us is matter of curious speculation: perhaps the two circumstances acted upon each other reciprocally; and at all events Burbadge became a finer actor than he would otherwise have had an opportunity of being, because he was furnished with characters requiring and challenging the exertion of his noblest powers. It is an evident mistake in the preceding quotation, where it is said that Burbadge "began his course" with Othello; and it serves to show how little was known, even at the time when the ballad was written, of the precise periods when any of Shakespeare's plays were produced: if there be one point of his literary history recently more clearly established than another, it is that "Othello" was not composed until early in the seventeenth century.[2]

[1] This ballad may be seen at length in "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," p. 56. It is not perhaps to be supposed that the description there given of the death of Desdemona is a correct statement of the manner in which Burbadge acted that part of the tragedy. The horror of the scene may have been exaggerated by some subsequent and vulgar performer of Othello.

[2] See "The Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, p. 343. The company is there called "Burbidge's Players;" from his eminence, probably, as the leader of the association, and the performer of the hero of the tragedy in August, 1602. On the 8th February, 1603-4, he represented the body of the company of "his Majesty's Comedians," when he received at Court £30 as a compensation for not being allowed to perform in public, owing to the prevalence of the plague. Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," printed for the Shakespeare Society, Introd., p. xxxv. This seems the only occasion in which Burbadge stood forward in this capacity: money for performances at Court was usually received at this date by Heminge, co-editor of the folio of 1623.

Before we proceed farther, it may be well to give at one view the parts in Shakespeare's Plays which we now know Burbadge represented; and we accompany their names, somewhat conjecturally of course, with the dates at which there is reason to believe they were brought upon the stage: the characters are in number twelve, viz.:

1. Shylock,	acted in	1593.
2. Richard III.,		1594.
3 Prince Henry,		1595.
4. Romeo,		1596.
5. Henry V.,		1599.
6. Brutus,		1601.
7. Hamlet,[1]		1602.
8. Othello,		1602.
9. Lear,		1605.
10. Macbeth,		1606.
11. Pericles,		1608.
12. Coriolanus,		1610.

Respecting other plays by Shakespeare, and other dates, we have no information in connexion with the biography of Richard Burbadge.

But this great actor did not, of course, confine himself to the works of Shakespeare, for, as the chief tragedian of the company, it was his business to perform the leading parts in accepted plays by other dramatists. Ben Jonson informs us

[1] There is no doubt that Burbadge is alluded to in the following quotation from "Ratsey's Ghost," a tract without date, but published four or five years after the production of Hamlet. Ratsey is addressing himself to the leading actor in a country association: "And for you, sirrah, (says he to the cheefest of them) thou hast a good presence upon a stage; methinks thou darkenest thy merit by playing in the country; get thee to London, for *if one man were dead*, they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts: my conceit is such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head *to play Hamlet with him*, for a wager."

that Burbadge played in "Every Man in his Humour" (no doubt Kitely, while Shakespeare is conjectured to have been the elder Knowell,) in 1598; and in "Every Man out of his Humour," in 1599: he was most likely Sejanus in the same author's tragedy in 1603; and he had prominent parts (not now to be distinguished) in "Volpone" in 1605, in "Epicœne" in 1609, in the "Alchemist" in 1612, and in "Cateline" in 1611. Ben Jonson was doubtless fully sensible of his obligations to Burbadge, and in one of his later plays, acted by a rival company, to which we shall advert more particularly hereafter, he does not hesitate, consistently with the vigorous independence of his character, to pay a just tribute to him.

The epitaph upon Burbadge, from which we have derived so much information as regards the parts he sustained in Shakespeare's plays, also furnishes us with a few of those for which he was celebrated in the works of contemporary dramatists: they are the following:—

Edward, probably Edward II. in Christopher Marlowe's tragedy of that name.

Antonio, in Marston's "Antonio and Mellida;" but which of the two parts into which the drama is divided is doubtful.

Vendice, in Cyril Tourneur's "Revenger's Tragedy;" but miscalled Vindex in the epitaph.

Brachiano, in "The White Devil," by John Webster.[1]

Frankford, in Heywood's "Woman killed with Kindness."

Philaster, in Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy of the same name.

Malevole, in Marston's "Malcontent."

In fact, the name of Richard Burbadge is found appended to the lists of *dramatis personæ* of various other plays of the time which it is perhaps needless to enumerate: he played, for in-

[1] From the old Dramatis Personæ of Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," 1623, we find that R. Burbadge took the part of Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, in that play: after his death it devolved, like Hamlet and some other characters, into the hands of Joseph Taylor.

stance, in "The Captain" and "Valentinian" of Beaumont and Fletcher;[1] and in the manuscript epitaph we meet with the name of Amintas, as that of a character for which he had been celebrated: we might think it a mistake for Amintor, if we were not perfectly sure that Burbadge's part in "The Maid's Tragedy" must have been Melantius: we recollect no play in which Burbadge is likely to have appeared, where such a personage as Amintas is met with. With regard to Malevole, in the "Malcontent," Marston himself informs us, in the "Induction," (if, indeed, it were not one of Webster's "additions" to the second impression of that play in 1604[2]) that Burbadge was the representative of the hero.

Burbadge is introduced in his own person into this "Induction." Sly and Sinklow are brought forward dressed as two gallants, who wish to sit upon the stage during the performance (as was then customary at what were called private theatres, though less usual at public ones) while Burbadge, Lowin, and Condell, appear there as members of the company, about to perform in the piece. Burbadge and Condell give some explanations to the audience respecting the character of the play, then on the point of commencing, but the former makes his *exit* before the end of the scene, having perhaps to dress for his part; and, after he has gone out, Condell informs Sly and Sinklow that Burbadge is to be the Malevole of the night. From this preliminary portion of the play we learn that it had, in the first instance, been performed by a rival company, under the title of "The Malcontent," but that, with additions, it was that night to be represented by the King's players, with the new name of

[1] One of the latest plays in which Burbage acted must have been Fletcher's "Loyal Subject," which was licensed by Sir George Buc, the Master of the Revels, on the 15th of November, 1618. His name is also found among the actors of "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Mad Lover," &c.

[2] There were two editions of "The Malcontent" in 1604, the one by Marston only, the other with additions by Webster.

"One for Another." It was nevertheless afterwards reprinted, in the same year as the first edition, with a title-page still calling it "The Malcontent."

In another play, "The Return from Parnassus," Burbadge figures in his own name in the body of the performance. It was not printed until 1606, but internal evidence establishes that it had been written and acted before the death of Elizabeth. In act iv., scene iii., two Cambridge scholars, called Studioso and Philomusus, employ Burbadge and Kempe, the first as the most famous tragedian, and the last as the best comedian of the day, to instruct them in the art of acting. Before the scholars enter, Burbadge and Kempe have a conversation, in which, among other matters, Kempe thus speaks of Shakespeare:—

> Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer, Ovid, and that writer, Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down; aye, and Ben Jonson too. O! that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow: he brought up Horace, giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.

Burbadge observes, "It is a shrewd fellow, indeed;" and just afterwards, Studioso and Philomusus enter, to receive their lesson: that of the one is founded upon Burbadge's performance of Jeronimo in the "Spanish Tragedy," while Kempe gives his pupil instructions as to the mode of playing the part of a verbose and foolish justice. The whole scene affords strong

[1] In spite of what is said by Gifford (Ben Jonson's Works, i., lx) on the import of these expressions, which clearly refer to "The Poetaster," it seems to us more than probable that Shakespeare had taken some part in the quarrel between Ben Jonson and other poets in consequence of that comedy. Dekker, however, armed himself with the cudgels, and in his "Satiromastix," 1602, wielded them with more strength than skill, with more fury than effect. Ben Jonson's wrath was, however, excited, and, as usual, he gave vent to it.

testimony, if any were wanted, of the high reputation of both players in their respective departments.

Having said so much of the characters sustained by Burbadge and of his undisputed excellence as a tragic performer, we may here properly introduce a sketch of his abilities and capabilities, left behind, not indeed by a contemporary, because the writer could never have seen Burbadge, but by one who mixed much with players and theatrical affairs, and who must have often heard his praises from numerous persons who had enjoyed an opportunity of personally marking the effects he produced upon his audiences. Such evidence is on some accounts better than that of an eye-witness, who speaks merely from his own observation, and not from traditional authority, founded upon the combined tributes of numerous spectators. We allude to Richard Flecknoe, who, in his "Short Discourse of the English Stage," printed in 1664,[1] inserted the description of "an excellent actor," in prose: this he subsequently put into verse, under the title of "The Praises of Richard Burbadge," inscribing it to Charles Hart, who became not much less distinguished after the Restoration. Flecknoe's "Praises" are these, extracted from his "Euterpe Restored," 1672; and it will be remarked that they begin somewhat abruptly, and read only like a fragment of some longer poem.

THE PRAISES OF RICHARD BURBADGE.

Who did appear so gracefully on the stage,
He was the admir'd example of the age,
And so observ'd all your dramatic laws,
He ne'er went off the stage but with applause;
Who his spectators and his auditors
Led in such silent chains of eyes and ears,

[1] It is appended to his drama of "Love's Kingdom," which had originally appeared with the date of 1654: when it was republished ten years afterwards it was much altered, and to this impression the "Short Discourse of the English Stage" was first added.

As none, whilst he on the stage his part did play,
Had power to speak, or look another way.
Who a delightful Proteus was, and could
Transform himself into what shape he would;
And of an excellent orator had all,
In voice and gesture, we delightful call:
Who was the soul of the stage; and we may say
'Twas only he who gave life unto a play,
Which was but dead, as 'twas by the author writ,
Till he by action animated it:
And finally he did on the stage appear
Beauty to the eye, and music to the ear.
Such even the nicest critics must allow
Burbage was once, and such Charles Hart is now.[1]

If we may believe some authorities, and there is no reason to doubt them, Burbadge was not only a great painter of living portraits upon the stage, but a limner of dead ones upon canvass: he was an artist as well as an actor, and attained considerable skill as a delineator of likenesses in oil-colours. In a

[1] That the reader may judge how accurately Flecknoe in these verses repeated himself, and what he had said eight years before in prose, we subjoin the commencement of his description of "an excellent actor" from his "Short Discourse of the English Stage"—

"He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his part, and putting off himself with his clothes, as he never (not so much as in the 'tiring house) assumed himself again, until the play was done. * * * * He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action, his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor still, never failing in his part when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still unto the height," &c.

Malone was acquainted with this quotation, (introduced by Flecknoe, with some praises of Richard Burbadge and N. Field) but was not aware that in a later production Flecknoe had put it into rhyme, and had expressly applied it to Burbadge. See Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 185.

manuscript volume belonging to the late Mr. Heber, of a date not much posterior to the time when Burbadge flourished, is found a brief epitaph upon him, thus headed:—

On the Death of that great Master in his art and quality, *painting* and playing, R. Burbage.

It is subscribed with the name of his contemporary, Thomas Middleton, the dramatic poet, and we may infer, perhaps, that Burbadge received some instructions in the art of painting. This is to present his character in entirely a new light, and it may be a matter of interesting speculation, whether he were not the painter of the picture from which the engraving of Shakespeare was made by Martin Droeshout, on the title-page of the folio of our great dramatist's works in 1623. If there were so many portraits of Shakespeare, as some have supposed, the player-editors might have found one, without much difficulty, with better pretensions as a work of art; and possibly (we only say possibly) one reason why Heminge and Condell took that upon which they employed the skill of Martin Droeshout was, because it had been painted by the actor who had figured so prominently in many of Shakespeare's plays, and who must have known him so intimately. It will be recollected that in this respect there was a striking similarity between Burbadge and another great actor, Betterton, who died rather less than a century after him: Betterton was also much devoted to the easel, and arrived, according to the evidence of some of his contemporaries, at no little excellence in painting the portraits of his friends and associates. Middleton's epitaph, or more properly epigram, excepting in its title, does not at all relate to Burbadge in his capacity as a painter, but to his death and "quality," (a term almost technical when applied to the profession of the stage) as an actor, and we have found a more appropriate place for it hereafter.

During the whole period that Richard Burbadge was connected with the Blackfriars and the Globe playhouses, thea-

trical speculations appear to have been highly profitable. In "The Return from Parnassus," before quoted, Kempe tells the two Cambridge students, who sought instruction from himself and Burbadge, "Be merry, lads; you have happened upon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come north and south to bring it to our playhouse;" and it would be a matter of no difficulty to accumulate much other testimony to the same effect.[1] The fact is, that nearly all the performers and sharers of that day, who had common prudence, died rich: Burbadge, from his youth upwards, must have been in the receipt of a considerable income, but it may be doubted whether he was what is usually called a careful man, until comparatively late in his career.

We now return to the domestic incidents of the life of Richard Burbadge, who, we have seen, was the person ostensibly concerned in the building of the Globe Theatre, which there is good reason to believe was completed in 1594, and opened in 1595.[2] Early in the spring of 1597, he lost his father, whom we have supposed to have retired from theatrical affairs for some years: he was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and the registration, which is in the following form, records as usual that the body was brought from Holywell Street:—

1596. James Burbadge was buryed the second daye of February.—Halliwell.

The widow continued to reside in the same place for about sixteen years afterwards; and Cuthbert Burbadge, her eldest son, as far as we have any means of knowing, was also an inhabitant of the same street, if not of the same house. He must have married before 1595, because on the 22nd June in that year was baptized at St. Leonard's "Walter Burbedge, the son of Cuthbert Burbedge." On the 15th of July suc-

[1] See this subject adverted to, and some evidence supplied, in an article in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," i., 21.

[2] This point is considered and discussed in Collier's "Life of Shakespeare," i., cxlviii.

ceeding the death of his father, he buried a son, who had been named James, no doubt, after the person who may be considered the founder of this branch of the family. The baptism of this boy is not to be found in the registers that contain his burial, and we have no means of ascertaining his age, but it is stated, as before, that the parents lived in Holywell Street. The same circumstance is noted in the registers on the 30th December, 1601, when "Elizabeth Burbedge, the daughter of Cuthbert," was baptized.

Richard Burbadge also became a married man about the date to which we are now adverting, or a little earlier. The Christian name of his wife was Winifred, and that is nearly all that is known about her: whether she came from town or country we must remain in ignorance, and no record has been discovered of their union, or of the birth of their first child, Richard:[1] that they had such a son is certain (although Malone was not aware of it) for the registers of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, mention, under date of 16th August, 1607, that "Richard Burbedge, the son of Richard Burbidge," was then interred. On the same authority we find that on 2nd January, 1602-3, "Julia Burbedge, the daughter of Richard Burbedge," was baptized, and this is the earliest notice in the books of any of the offspring of Winifred Burbage. When Julia Burbedge was buried on the 12th September, 1608, her name was entered by the clerk *Juliet*, and hence it has been inferred that such was her real appellation, and that her parents had been directed to the choice of it by their fondness for the heroine of one of

[1] Unsuccessful search has been made in the registers of various churches near the theatres in Shoreditch, at Blackfriars and on the Bankside. It may be worth notice here that a person of the name of Robert Burbadge lived in the High Street, within the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and that he was a linen-draper. His name often occurs in the registers and token-books, but we have not been able to trace any relationship between him and the subject of our memoir. There were also Burbadges, brewers, in Cripplegate, near the Fortune theatre.

Shakespeare's tragedies, in which the father had gained extraordinary distinction.[1]

In 1603, therefore, Richard and Winifred Burbadge had two children living, and on the 16th September in the following year another daughter was baptized, Frances, at St. Leonard's; but the infant only lived a few days, its burial having been entered on the 19th September. They had no more children, at least none were registered at their parish church, until 8th August, 1607, when "Anne Burbidge, the daughter of Richard Burbidge," was baptized; but, as already mentioned, eight days afterwards they had the misfortune to lose their eldest son, Richard, who must have been at least seven or eight years of age. This severe blow was succeeded, on the 12th September, 1608, by the death of Julia Burbadge, so that the father and mother were at this date left with only one daughter, Anne. It will not be forgotten that Anne was the

[1] "His fondness for the name of Juliet perhaps arose from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play." Malone's Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 183. This speculation is improbable, because, when Richard Burbage had another daughter in 1614, he named her *Julia*, and not Juliet: when she was buried in the next year she was also registered as *Julia*, and it seems likely that she was named after her sister, who had died in 1608. The entries at St. Leonard's run precisely thus, giving us varieties of the name even in the same entry:—

"1602. Julia Burbedge, the daughter of Richard Burbedge, baptized 2 Januarie.

"1608. Juliet Burbege, the daughter of Richard Burbidge, was buryed the 12 of September.

"1614. Julya Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, baptized 26 December.

"1615. Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, was buried the 15th day of August."

Malone introduces the second Julia with an *alias*, "a second Juliet, or Julia," but there is no pretext for it in the registers.

[1] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 183.

name of Shakespeare's wife; and we shall see hereafter, as indeed has been already noticed, that Richard Burbadge named one of his sons William. It is remarkable, too, that Anne and William were the only children that appear to have survived their parents.

Unless they were registered elsewhere (as we suppose Richard, who died in 1607, to have been), while Burbadge and his wife were upon some theatrical expedition into the country, they ceased to add to their family between 1607, when Anne was born, and 1613, when Winifred (named, of course, after her mother) came into the world.[1] This event happened on the 10th October, but Winifred only lived till the 14th October, 1616. In the mean time her mother produced another daughter, which, on the 26th December, 1614, was baptized Julia. Richard and Winifred Burbadge seem to have been very unfortunate in losing their offspring in infancy, for this second Julia only survived until 15th August, and was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Thus out of six children, born between about 1600 and 1615, they had now only one left.

William Burbadge, who has been mentioned by no preceding biographer (and whom we have supposed to have been named after Shakespeare, then recently dead), was born, according to the register of St. Leonard's, on 6th November, 1616. We quote the exact form of the entry, because it relates to the namesake of our great dramatist, and because it has hitherto escaped all notice:—

"1616. William Burbadge, son of Richard Burbadg, baptized 6 November, 1616—Halywell Street."

No entry of the burial of a William Burbadge occurs at any

[1] It is not unlikely that, in consequence of the mortality in his family, Richard Burbadge, after the birth of his daughter Anne, then his only child, removed his wife for a time from the neighbourhood of Shoreditch, and left her in the country while he pursued his professional career in London.

date in the same registers, and we know that he lived until 1633, because he is recorded in that year to have been one of the "owners of the inheritance" of the Blackfriars theatre. The other proprietor of the freehold was his uncle, Cuthbert Burbadge (who died in 1636), and from them there appears to have been an intention, on the part of the city authorities, to purchase the playhouse, in order to abate what had long been considered a nuisance. Four magistrates were appointed, in 1633, to ascertain the value of the premises, and their original report upon the subject is in the possession of the writer of the present memoir.[1] James Burbadge, the father of Cuthbert and Richard, as already stated, was the first builder and owner of the Blackfriars theatre, and at his death, in February, 1597, he left it to his two sons. At the demise of Richard Burbadge his share came to his only son, William, but his brother Cuthbert was still alive, when the negociation for the sale of the playhouse was commenced in 1633. Whether Cuthbert Burbadge, like Richard, had been originally brought up by his father to the profession of the stage, is by no means certain. There was a distinguished bookseller of the time of the name of Cuthbert Burby, and it is often found at the foot of title-pages; and the coincidence of Cuthbert and Burby might lead

[1] It appears from it, that in 1633 Cuthbert and William Burbadge, "who (in the terms of the report) had the inheritance" of the Blackfriars playhouse, received a rent of £50 per annum from the company for the use of it: this they valued at fourteen years' purchase, and therefore claimed £700 as the value: they were also the owners of four adjacent tenements, let at a rental of £75 per annum, and "a void piece of ground to turn coaches in," which they estimated at £6 per annum: these also, at fourteen years' purchase, would come to £1134, so that their whole demand for the transference of the property was £1834. In 1633, money is supposed to have been rather less than four times its present value, so that the whole estate may have been worth nearly £7000. The report, or "certificate" as it is called, is subscribed Will. Baker, Humphrey Smith, Lawr. Whitaker, and Willm. Childe.

to the opinion, that Cuthbert Burbadge was meant by Cuthbert Burby, for everybody is aware of the extremely loose orthography of proper names at that period. Cuthbert Burby was the publisher of the 4to. of "Love's Labours Lost" in 1598, and of the authentic edition of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1599, printed to supersede the spurious copy of 1597; but we do not find his name connected with any other early impressions of the plays of Shakespeare.

The profession of the stage, especially to such as were sharers in companies, and owners of theatres, must have been highly profitable towards the end of the sixteenth and in the commencement of the seventeenth centuries; and there is little room for doubt that Richard Burbadge had been gradually accumulating property, and adding to that which his father had left to him and to his brother. His reputation and popularity were extraordinary, and his emoluments from various sources must have been large, and he was evidently much looked up to by his fellow-actors. In 1605, Augustine Phillips, the celebrated comedian of the same company, made him an overseer of his will, and, in case of the re-marriage of his widow, Anne Phillips, one of his executors, with a present of a silver bowl of the value of £5: the other overseers and contingent executors were John Heminge (who, as is well known, lived to be one of the joint editors of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623), William Sly, the actor, and Timothy Whithorne (regarding whom nothing is known), who each had similar bowls, while various bequests were made by the testator to his brother actors and friends; among them "a thirty-shilling piece in gold" to William Shakespeare. The widow of Phillips married again prior to the 16th May, 1607, when Heminge, according to the provision in the will of her late husband, proved it as executor; but Burbadge, Sly, and Whithorne, the other overseers, do not seem to have interfered on the occasion.

The last extract we have made from the register of St.

Leonard, Shoreditch, establishes that Burbadge still resided in Holywell Street, perhaps in the very house his father had inhabited, and left to him. In and about this spot a nest of actors had collected, originally attracted, and afterwards detained there, by the vicinity of two of the oldest, if not the very oldest, theatres in or near the metropolis. This was, no doubt, the motive that induced James Burbadge to settle there prior to 1576, when his daughter Alice was baptized at St. Leonard's. Besides the Blackfriars, he must have been a sharer in the Curtain or the Theatre, and we may feel confident that his property in one or both of these playhouses descended to his sons Cuthbert and Richard, who continued inhabitants of the same district.[1] Malone thought it strange that Richard Burbadge should have continued there, recollecting that Holywell Street was at such a distance from the Blackfriars and Globe;[2] but he did not advert to the circumstance that his dwelling-house was probably his own, and that he might have a considerable interest in the receipts at the playhouses in Shoreditch.

While the Globe was in a course of construction in 1594, and while the Blackfriars was under repair in 1596, it seems most improbable that the Lord Chamberlain's servants, a highly popular association, would confine themselves to a joint occupation, with Henslowe and Alleyn, of a theatre in Newington Butts: that they did perform at Newington Butts at this period is incontrovertibly proved by Henslowe's "Diary" of his theatrical transactions. Our strong belief, therefore, is, that Richard Burbadge was interested in the receipts of a theatre in Shoreditch, at the same time that he was one of the owners of the Blackfriars, and a large sharer in the Globe: that Thomas Pope, an eminent actor in the same company as Burbage, had

[1] No will by James Burbadge is to be found in the Prerogative Office, although he died and was buried in London. It is possible that he made none, and that his two sons amicably divided his property between them.

[2] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 183.

a "right, title, and interest" in the Curtain theatre, as well as in the Globe, and at the same time, is established by his will in 1603.

Very shortly after Shakespeare is supposed to have retired to Stratford-upon-Avon, and to have separated himself from theatrical concerns, a calamity happened at the Globe, which probably no care on his part, had he been present, or on that of any other person who was there, could have avoided. During the performance of a play called "All is True" (a revival, perhaps, of Shakespeare's "Henry the Eighth," under a new title)[1] on the 29th June, 1613, the Globe was burned down, owing to some sparks discharged from theatrical artillery lodging on the thatch with which the stage was roofed. This must, of course, have been a distressing event to the leaders of the company, whom we have supposed sharers in the house, as well as in the receipts; but the loss, for aught we know, may have fallen peculiarly upon Burbadge, who was part owner of the Blackfriars playhouse, and may have been sole owner of the Globe, as he alone entered into the agreement under which it had been constructed in 1594. Burbadge was present at the fire, as we find stated in a poor ballad, no doubt published on the occasion, because it was then entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company, but which has only come down to us in manuscript:[2] it is entitled "A Sonnet on the pitiful Burning of the Globe Playhouse in London;" and the subsequent stanza mentions Burbadge, who, if the play were "Henry the

[1] See Collier's Shakespeare, v., 496, where a different opinion is expressed; but the writer of the present memoir is induced to qualify, if not to question the judgment there stated. Sir H. Wotton may have termed "All is True" a *new* play, not having heard that it was merely a new title to an old play. Marston's "Malcontent" was performed under a second title in its first year: see p. 26.

[2] It may be seen at length in the "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 387.

Eighth," under the title of "All is True," must have been the representative of Cardinal Wolsey on the day of the fire.

> Out run the knights, out run the lords,
> And there was great ado;
> Some lost their hats, and some their swords,
> Then out run Burbadge too:
> The reprobates, though drunk on Monday,
> Pray'd for the Fool and Henry Condy."[1]

This shows also that the calamity occurred on Monday; and Henry Condy, so called for the sake of the rhime, was, of course, Henry Cundall, the joint-editor with Heminge of the folio of 1623. It was possibly mainly owing to this disaster, that not a single line, in manuscript of the time, of a play by Shakespeare has been preserved:[2] they might all be consumed, with the rest of the stock, in the fire at the Globe.

The house was rebuilt in the next year, in a great degree at the expense of the king and the nobility;[3] and what before

[1] The following stanza from the same ballad shows that the play, in a course of representation, was on the events of the reign of Henry VIII.; and the burden, "All this is true," confirms the notion that the drama bore that title on the occasion:—

> All you that please to understand,
> Come listen to my story;
> To see Death, with his raking brand,
> 'Mong'st such an auditory,
> Regarding neither Cardinal's might,
> Nor the rugged face of Henry the Eight.
> Oh sorrow! pitiful sorrow! and yet All this is true.

[2] Perhaps we ought to except his "Henry the Fourth," recently printed by the Shakespeare Society, under the care of Mr. Halliwell, from a MS. belonging to Sir Edward Dering; but it may be doubted whether the MS. be quite as old as the time of Shakespeare.

[3] See the Life of Shakespeare preceding Collier's edit. of his works, p. ccxli.

had been thatch was replaced by tiles, so that a similar accident could not again happen from the same cause: therefore, let who will have been the proprietor or proprietors of the consumed edifice, they were not ultimately such severe sufferers as might have been expected. It has generally been concluded, though in the absence of any distinct information upon the point, that Shakespeare had no interest in the Globe at the period of its destruction, having disposed of what property he might have had in it before his removal from the metropolis. The probability certainly is, that most of the principal actors were sharers, in various proportions, in the theatre, as well as in what were called "the takings," and that the loss, whatever it might be, was thus subdivided among them.[1]

In his progress to the highest rank in the loftiest walk of his profession, and during the period he maintained himself in that position, Burbadge had, of course, rivals, but his popularity never appears to have declined. His chief competitor, until about the year 1605 or 1606, was Edward Alleyn, who was at the head of an association, playing, until 1601, at the Rose theatre, near the Globe, on the Banksido, and subsequently at the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate. This contention is referred to in some coeval lines preserved at Dulwich College, in which Burbadge is called "Roscius Richard,"[2] but which it is unnecessary to repeat

[1] At a date considerably subsequent to the fire, we find that the Globe theatre had become the property of Sir Thomas Brand. This fact is stated in some old records preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and explains how it happened that he had the power of pulling it down in 1644. See Collier's Shakespeare, i., ccxlii.

[2] He is doubtless also the Roscius mentioned in the following epigram, from "The Furies" by Richard Nichols. 8vo. 1614.

In Fuscum.

Fuscus is turn'd a player; for in rage
He lately left his function for the stage,

here, as they are inserted at length in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed by the Shakespeare Society.[1] Ben Jonson mentions another of Burbadge's rivals at a later date, coupling them as if they were nearly equally celebrated: we allude to act v., scene 3, of his "Bartholomew Fair," which the author himself tells us was originally played at the Hope, another theatre on the Bankside, on 31st October, 1614. He there thus introduces the name of Burbadge:—

Cokes. I thank you for that, Master Little-wit; a good jest! Which is your Burbadge now?

Leatherhead. What mean you by that, sir?

Cokes. Your best actor, your Field.

Jonson's Works by Gifford, iv., 512.

To speak of Burbadge and Field together in this way was not intended by the writer as any disparagement of the former, to whose exertions Ben Jonson, like Shakespeare, had been indebted; but the author of "Cynthia's Revels," "The Poetaster," and "Epicœne," was under peculiar obligations to Nathaniel Field for the admirable performance of the parts allotted to him; and there can be no doubt, on other and more impartial authority, that although, in 1614, Field was a much younger man than Burbadge, he enjoyed a large share of popularity. Neither did Field's character stand high as an actor only, for he was the author of two excellent comedies, "Woman is a Weathercock," 1612, and "Amends for

> In hope to out-act Roscius in a scene;
> In care of which the fellow's grown so lean
> That all men pity him: but, Fuscus, know,
> Players do now as plentifully grow
> As spawn of frogs in March; yet evermore
> The great devour the less. Be wise, therefore;
> Procure thou some commendatory letter
> For the Burmoothes—'tis a course far better.

[1] In 1841, p. 13; the first work issued by the Society.

Ladies,"[1] 1618. As far as we can judge, the low jealousy, since sometimes displayed among actors of different grades, did not then prevail to any offensive extent—at least we meet with few traces of it in any of the records of the time, and Burbadge always stood so well in public estimation, that through life he had no reason to fear a competitor. Alleyn, Kempe, and other actors of celebrity, tragic and comic, not unfrequently, according to the custom of the time, had money staked upon them in friendly wagers, that in the opinion of certain judges they would exceed particular rivals; but nobody seems to have supposed that it would be possible to enter successfully into such a contest with Burbadge.

It is an opinion formed upon such scanty materials as have descended to us, that up to the year 1604 the King's players, when performing at the Globe, were very much under the control and management of Shakespeare. He is generally supposed to have quitted the more active duties of the profession about this period; and certain it is, that just afterwards the company became involved in troubles, from which they had previously escaped. We allude to an offence given to the court, at the close of 1604, by the performance of a drama upon Gowry's Conspiracy; to an insult offered to the city authorities in the winter of 1605; and to a complaint to the King by the French ambassador in 1606, that in a play by George Chapman the Queen of France had been brought upon the stage in a derogatory manner: even James I. did not escape ridicule; and the consequence was, that for a short time dramatic performances were entirely suspended in London. We can hardly suppose that Burbadge was not concerned in some of these disasters; but the names of Kempe and Armin are those only which are mentioned in any of the

[1] Both were reprinted (with three other excellent dramas) in 1829, in a supplemental volume to "Dodsley's Old Plays," last edit. Field also, as is well known, joined Massinger in the composition of "The Fatal Dowry."

documents. A few years afterwards, indeed, Burbadge was implicated, but on a very different and venial account.

From early times actors were not allowed to exhibit during Lent, but by degrees the Master of the Revels had exercised the power of granting dispensations, excepting on what were termed sermon-days. In March, 1615, for some unexplained reason, the Lord Chamberlain issued an order, prohibiting all dramatic representations during Lent, which order appears to have been disregarded by several of the companies in London. A warrant, dated 29th March, was therefore put into the hands of one of the messengers of the Privy Council, requiring Heminge, Burbadge,[1] and other performers named in it, belonging to different associations, to appear on the Friday following, at eight in the morning, to answer for their conduct. The register of the Privy Council contains no farther notice of the transaction, and it is therefore probable that the offenders were not compelled to attend, having in the mean time made due and satisfactory submission.[2] We conclude that

[1] In his Masque of Christmas (as Malone has observed) Burbadge and "old Mr. Heminge" are spoken of together as the heads of the King's players.

[2] The following is the entry in the registers of the Privy Council, and we insert it chiefly to bring before the reader the names of the different players included in the accusation:—

"29 March, 1615.

"A Warrant to Sentie, one of the messengers.

"Whereas John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge, Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, Humphrey Jeffes, with others, stage-players, in and about the city of London, have presumed, notwithstanding the commandment of the Lord Chamberlain, signified unto them by the Master of the Revels, to play this prohibited time of Lent. These are, therefore, to will and command you to make your repair unto the persons above named, and to charge them, in his Majesty's name, to make their appearance here before us, of his Majesty's Privy Council, on Friday next, at eight o'clock of the

during the whole of Lent that year there were no theatrical performances, but afterwards the Lord Chamberlain seems to have permitted the Master of the Revels again to exercise his discretionary jurisdiction.

A few months after thus incurring the displeasure of persons in authority, Burbadge and his wife, as already mentioned, sustained a domestic affliction by the loss of their second Julia: she was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 15th August, 1615, and in the next year they lost their daughter Winifred, who was buried on the 14th October: they were consoled in less than a month afterwards by the birth of their son William, who came into the world rather more than six months posterior to the death of the great dramatist, after whom we have supposed him to have been named, in affectionate remembrance of long intimacy and ardent admiration.

At this date, according to our conjecture as to the period of his birth, Richard Burbadge was about forty-nine years old, and he continued in full possession of his powers, and to give the town the benefit of them, for about four years afterwards: he died, as we can now prove, on the 13th March, 1618-19,[1] the day when Malone supposed him to have expired, and not on the 9th March, as erroneously stated by Camden in his Annals of James I., where he styles him *alter Roscius*—"1619. *Martij* 9. *Richardus Burbadge, alter Roscius, obiit.*" The manuscript epitaph, to which we have before often re-

forenoon, without any excuse or delay. And in the mean time that neither they, nor the rest of their company, presume to present any plays or interludes, as they will answer the contrary at their perils."

The only actors in this enumeration who appear to have belonged to the company of the King's players were Heminge and Burbadge: the rest were chiefly performers at the Fortune theatre.

[1] In "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., p. 430, it is stated by a mistake (of which others have availed themselves) that Burbadge died on 13th March, 1619-20.

ferred, gives not only the day of the month, but the day of the week when he expired, viz., "on Saturday in Lent," 13th March. He was buried three days afterwards at St, Leonard's, Shoreditch, and we subjoin an exact copy of the register :—

"1618. Richard Burbadge, player, was buried the xvjth of March—Halliwell Street."

It was not very common in this parish to record the occupation of the deceased ; but this instance was an exception to the rule, as a tribute, perhaps, to the celebrity of the individual in his quality. We have no trace that Burbadge ever resided in Southwark ; but it is remarkable that, in one of the old books preserved at St. Saviour's, the death of Burbadge is briefly noted, as if it were so important an event in the district in which the Globe theatre was situated, as to require some memorandum by the clerk : the words are, "Mr. Burbadge dyed 1618," without giving the month or day. Having expired on the 13th March, he had made his will, which is nuncupative, only on the preceding day, and in the following form :—

Memorandum.—That on Friday the twelfth of March, anno Domini one thousand six hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbadge, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent., being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament nuncupative, in manner and form following, viz. :— he, the said Richard, did nominate and appoint his well-beloved wife, Winifride Burbadge, to be sole executrix of all his goods and chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed :—

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the testator.
The mark of × Elizabeth, his wife.
Nicholas Tooley.
Anne Lancaster.
Richard Robinson.
The mark of × Elizabeth Graves.
Henry Jacksonne.[1]

[1] The will was written on a sheet of ordinary foolscap by the "brother to the testator," as appears by the identity of the handwriting of Cuthbert

The widow did not prove the will until more than a month afterwards, and it was duly entered thus:—

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London, coram judice, 22° Aprilis, 1619, juramento Winifredæ Burbadge relictæ dicti defuncti, et executricis in eodem testamento nominatæ, cui commissa fuit administratio de bene, &c., jurat.

She was left by her husband *enceinte*, and in the beginning of August she gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized at St. Leonard's as "Sara, the daughter of Wynnefred Burbadge, widow," on the 5th August, 1619. Thus three children survived the father—Anne, William, and Sarah; but the last was buried on 29th April, 1625, a fact thus recorded in the register of St. Leonard's, although Malone and Chalmers failed to discover it:—

1625. Sara Burbadge was buried the 29th of Aprill.

Cuthbert Burbadge, "brother to the testator," and Elizabeth, his wife (who made her mark as a witness to the will of Richard Burbadge), both died in 1636, and were both buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street; the first on the 17th September, and the last on the 1st October. Nicholas Tooley and Richard Robinson, two other witnesses to the will, were actors enumerated in the list at the beginning of the folio of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623; but of Anne Lancaster, Elizabeth Graves, and Henry Jackson, the three other witnesses, nothing seems known.

Malone is silent upon the point, but Chalmers asserts without qualification, that Richard Burbadge was "carried off by the plague."[1] Such may have been the case, but there exists no evidence to support the statement, and one or two facts may be adduced, which are strongly opposed to it. The

Burbadge when he subscribed it as the first witness: he wrote a remarkably plain fine hand, and as if he had been educated a scrivener. It occupies, including the signatures of the witnesses and the jurat, only one side of the sheet.

[1] Apology for the Believers, &c., p. 428.

first of those is, that having died on the 13th March, he was not buried until three days afterwards: under any circumstances it was not at that period very usual to keep a corpse above ground so long as three days; but we should think it most unlikely, if death had been produced by so infectious and malignant a disorder, as that species of putrid fever then denominated the plague. This alone would appear conclusive; but, in addition, we may mention, that no virulent disease of the kind was at that time so prevalent as to put a stop to performances at the theatres, which was always the case when the mortality in London was considerably above the average. The terms also of the manuscript epitaph upon Burbadge (which we shall presently quote at large) do not support the notion that he died of the plague, but rather of paralysis, which first affected his speech:—

> Hadst thou but spoke to Death, and us'd the power
> Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
> Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
> And quite been charm'd with thy all-charming art:
> This Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
> *He first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue,*
> Then on the rest, &c.

The suddenness of the attack, which is always the case with paralysis, may account for the fact that Burbadge left no written testament behind him.

There is one document in existence, which, had we no other evidence to the contrary, might have been considered sufficient to prove that Burbadge lived until after the 27th March, 1619: it is a Privy Seal, bearing date at Westminster on that day, authorizing the King's servants to continue their performances at the Blackfriars and Globe at all times, when the deaths in London by "the infection of the plague" did not exceed forty in the week: in the list of players, so licensed anew, the name of Richard Burbadge comes second (following that of John Heminge), as if he were still an acting member

of the company, although he had really been dead a fortnight.[1] How to explain the circumstance we know not, unless the instrument had been drawn up, though not signed, before the illness of Burbadge; or unless the fact, sufficiently notorious, were in some way concealed from persons in authority, lest it should make some difference as to the concession of the privilege. The object of this renewal of the royal license of May, 1603, was clearly to settle the right of the players to persevere in their performances in the Blackfriars, which, even as recently as January, 1618-19, the Lord Mayor had made a fresh effort to terminate by his own authority.

It is quite true that theatrical representations were entirely suspended at the time of the death of Richard Burbadge, not because it was Lent, nor on account of the prevalence of the plague, but in consequence of the recent death of Queen Anne, who had expired on 1st March. The royal funeral was postponed until 29th April, and did not take place until 13th May, during the whole of which time no plays were permitted to be acted. This circumstance is adverted to in Middleton's lines on the death of Burbadge, as painter and player, the heading of which we have already given, (p. 30) and which we now subjoin, from a manuscript once the property of Mr. Heber:—

> Astronomers and star-gazers this year
> Write but of four eclipses—five appear:
> Death interposing Burbage, and their staying,
> Hath made a visible eclipse of playing.
>
> THO. MIDDLETON.

"Their staying" refers to the inhibition of all plays until after the Queen's funeral, which is also mentioned in a letter from John Chamberlaine, the correspondent of Sir Dudley Carlton, then ambassador at the Hague: his communication bears date the 19th March, six days after the decease of Burbadge, and

[1] For the document itself, with an entire list of the company at this date, see "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 416.

its contents are important in reference to the subject of the present memoir, because we learn from it that Burbadge, according to report at the time, had died rich; that is to say, worth about £1200 a year, of our present money, in land, without taking into account his personal property. Chamberlaine's words are these: — "The funeral [of the Queen] is put off to the 29th of next month, to the great hinderance of our players, which are forbidden to play so long as her body is above ground: one special man among them, Burbadge, is lately dead, and hath left, they say, better than £300 land."[1]

In the language of that time, the terms "£300 land" meant £300 a year in land, and money is calculated to have been then at least four times as valuable as at present. Burbadge's will was evidently made *in extremis*, although he lived until the next day, or it would have been put into writing and subscribed; and nothing is said in it about the amount or description of any of his property, excepting that he left his wife "sole executrix of all his goods and chattels," under which terms, of course, lands would not pass: we are to understand, therefore, that he left the disposal of his landed property to the ordinary and known operation of the law. He was interred, as before stated, on the 16th March, and the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, records the event precisely in the manner we have pointed out on a preceding page.

Of course, 16 March, 1618, in the entry, is 1619, according to our present mode of computing the year; and "Halliwell Street" meant Holywell Street, where the Burbadges had long resided.

The sudden and unexpected death of Burbadge, the chief supporter of all the great tragic parts at the Blackfriars and at the Globe, must have been a severe blow to the company: how

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, i., p. ccxxii. The original letter from Chamberlaine is in the State Paper Office.

they recovered from it is not ascertained, but as Queen Anne was not buried, and the different associations could not therefore begin to act again, until 13th May, they had nearly two months to find substitutes for Burbadge; for it is not likely that any one performer would have been deemed equal to the numerous characters in which he had so long given his audiences complete satisfaction. Before 1619 we find Nathaniel Field one of the King's players, but there is reason to believe that Joseph Taylor was again taken into the association about that date: these two, and John Lowen, divided Burbadge's parts between them, and we gather from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Hamlet was one of the characters to which Taylor succeeded.[1]

Many elegiac effusions were, no doubt, poured forth on the death of Burbadge, since not a few poets must have been under heavy obligations to him, and must have felt his loss severely: however, only three or four of these have survived; and what remain to us are anything but favourable specimens of the abilities of their authors: not one of them, as far as we know, was printed at the time. "*Exit Burbadge*," is the simple inscription assigned to him in a volume among the Ashmolean manuscripts,[2] which also found its way into "Camden's Remains," by Philpotts: it is brief, but in much better taste than some of the more laboured productions on the occasion. Take, for instance, the subsequent, which is found in MS. Sloane, No. 1786, in the British Museum:—

EPITAPH ON MR. RICHARD BURBADGE, THE PLAYER.

This life's a play, scened out by nature's art,
Where every man hath his allotted part.

[1] His words are, "Taylor acted Hamlet incomparably well," and hence some have hastily supposed that he was the original Hamlet, but the fact, as will be seen presently, is otherwise. Burbadge was the first Hamlet, and Taylor only took the part after the death of the person whom Shakespeare chose as the representative of the Danish prince.

[2] MS. Ashmol., No. 38, fol. 190.

This man hath now, as many men can tell,
Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
The play now ended, think his grave to be
The retiring house of his sad tragedy;
Where to give his fame this be not afraid:
Here lies the best tragedian ever play'd."

The truth of this tribute (which is rather inaccurately quoted by Malone[1]) may be justly deemed its sole recommendation; and it is not only supported by the evidence supplied by the characters Burbadge is known to have sustained, but by the opinion of Sir Richard Baker, who was a competent judge from his tastes and acquirements, was well acquainted with the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and must have had many opportunities of seeing Burbadge: Sir Richard Baker, as Malone informs us, was born in 1568, and died in 1645. He says that "Richard Burbadge and Edward Alleyn were two such actors as no age must ever look to see the like."[2] The instructions to the players in "Hamlet" prove indisputably that Shakespeare was perfectly acquainted with the theory of acting, and throughout his career he had the opportunity of seeing the practice of it admirably illustrated by Burbadge.

We have now only to subjoin the elegy upon Burbadge, from which we have already made several quotations, and which was copied many years ago from a manuscript in the possession of the late Mr. Heber: it contains, as we have shown, an enumeration of various parts in which Burbadge was distinguished; but the same collector had another copy, less full and perfect in this respect, as if the author had not intended in the first instance to give Burbadge's characters, because they were matters of notoriety at the time, although he afterwards thought fit to introduce them, in order to render

[1] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 186.

[2] Chronicle, fol., London, 1653, p. 581.

his tribute more complete. As far as posterity is concerned, we are much obliged to him; for, had he not done so, we could only have guessed at the representative of most of Shakespeare's characters, forming our judgment, as to Burbadge's claim, upon the prominence of the personage in the drama, and the eminence of the actor in the association. Little can be advanced on the merits of the ensuing production; and though to some an apology may be necessary for its length, others, who are interested in such matters, would be satisfied with no excuse, were we to omit any part of it.

A FUNERAL ELEGY

ON THE DEATH OF THE FAMOUS ACTOR, RICHARD BURBADGE, WHO DIED ON SATURDAY IN LENT, THE 13TH OF MARCH, 1618.

Some skilful limner help me! If not so,
Some sad tragedian to express my woe!
Alas! he's gone, that could the best, both limn
And act my grief;[1] and 'tis for only him
That I invoke this strange assistance to it,
And on the point invoke himself to do it;
For none but Tully Tully's praise can tell,
And no man act a grief, or act so well.
He's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
Friends, every one, and what a blank instead!
Take him for all in all, he was a man
Not to be match'd, and no age ever can.
No more young Hamlet, though but scant of breath,
Shall cry "Revenge!" for his dear father's death.
Poor Romeo never more shall tears beget
For Juliet's love and cruel Capulet:
Harry shall not be seen as king or prince,
They died with thee, dear Dick, [and not long since]
Not to revive again. Jeronimo
Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:

[1] Another proof that Burbadge both painted and acted.

They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
By horrid outcry ; and Antonio's dead.
Edward shall lack a representative ;
And Crookback, as befits, shall cease to live.
Tyrant Macbeth, with unwash'd, bloody hand,
We vainly now may hope to understand.
Brutus and Marcius henceforth must be dumb,
For ne'er thy like upon the stage shall come,
To charm the faculty of ears and eyes,
Unless we could command the dead to rise.
Vindex is gone, and what a loss was he!
Frankford, Brachiano, and Malevole.
Heart-broke Philaster, and Amintas too,
Are lost for ever; with the red-hair'd Jew,
Which sought the bankrupt merchant's pound of flesh,
By woman-lawyer caught in his own mesh.
What a wide world was in that little space,
Thyself a world—the Globe thy fittest place!
Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
Might throughly from thy face be understood;
And his whole action he could change with ease
From ancient Lear to youthful Pericles.
But let me not forget one chiefest part,
Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart;
The grieved Moor, made jealous by a slave,
Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,
Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.
All these and many more are with him dead.
Hereafter must our Poets cease to write.
Since thou art gone, dear Dick, a tragic night
Will wrap our black-hung stage: he made a Poet,
And those who yet remain full surely know it;
For, having Burbage to give forth each line,
It fill'd their brain with fury more divine.
Oft have I seen him leap into the grave,
Suiting the person, which he seem'd to have,

Of a mad lover, with so true an eye,
That there I would have sworn he meant to die.
Oft have I seen him play his part in jest
So lively, that spectators and the rest
Of his sad crew, whilst he but seem'd to bleed,
Amazed thought even then he died indeed.
O! let me not be check'd, and I shall swear,
Even yet, it is a false report I hear,
And think that he that did so truly feign,
Is still but dead in jest, to live again.
But now his part he acts, not plays, 'tis known:
Others' he plays, but acted hath his own.
England's great Roscius! for what Roscius
Was unto Rome that Burbadge was to us!
How did his speech become him, and his pace
Suit with his speech, and every action grace
Them both alike, whilst not a word did fall
Without just weight to ballast it withal.
Had'st thou but spoke to Death, and us'd the power
Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
And quite been charm'd with thy all-charming art:
This Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
He first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue;
Then on the rest: 'twas easy; by degrees
The slender ivy twines the hugest trees.
Poets, whose glory whilome 'twas to hear
Your lines go well express'd, henceforth forbear,
And write no more; or if you do, let 't be
In comic scenes, since tragic parts, you see,
Die all with him: nay, rather shut your eyes,
And henceforth write nought else but tragedies,
Or dirges and sad elegies, or those
Mournful laments that not accord with prose.
Blur all your leaves with blots, that all you've writ
May be but one sad black; and upon it

Draw marble lines that may outlast the sun,
And stand like trophies when the world is done.
Turn all your ink to blood, your pens to spears,
To pierce and wound the hearers' hearts and ears:
Enrag'd, write stabbing lines, that every word
May be as apt for murder as a sword,
That no man may survive, after this fact
Of ruthless Death, either to hear or act.
And you, his sad companions, to whom Lent
Becomes more lenten by this accident,
Henceforth your waving flag no more hang out.
Play now no more at all: when round about
We look, and miss the Atlas of your sphere,
What comfort have we, think you, to be there?
And how can you delight in playing, when
Such mourning so affecteth other men?
Or if you will still put it out, let it wear
No more bright colours, but Death's livery there.
Hang all your house with black, the ewe it bears
With icicles of ever-melting tears;
And if you ever chance to play again,
May nought but tragedies afflict the scene!
And now, dear Earth, that must enshrine that dust,
By heaven now committed to thy trust,
Keep it as precious as the richest mine
That lies entomb'd in that rich womb of thine,
That after times may know that much lov'd mould
From other dust, and cherish it as gold:
On it be laid some soft but lasting stone,
With this short epitaph endors'd thereon,
That every eye may read, and reading, weep—
'Tis England's Roscius, Burbadge, that I keep.

The allusion to Atlas in the preceding elegy was probably occasioned by the fact, stated by Steevens, that the sign of the Globe theatre was Atlas, not Hercules, supporting a sphere; and we learn from it also another particular connected with the

old playhouse, viz., that there was a ewe-tree near it, perhaps against it, which the writer wished to be hung "with icicles of ever-melting tears;" unless we suppose "ewe" to be a clerical error for *hue*, and that he meant the black hue of the theatre to be rendered still more dismal by the frozen tears of the company: the passage is not very intelligible either way, and it is certainly not of much consequence how it is to be taken. The author of the subsequent MS. lines, of a very opposite character, though written on the same occasion, has taken care to be easily understood: his object was to censure and satirize the inhabitants of London for their unreasonable grief on the loss of an actor; but what he says serves to show the general impression of sorrow which the death of Burbadge had produced. He contrasts the public grief for the death of a player with the comparative indifference with which the news of the demise of the Queen of James I. had been received; and it will be observed that the two lines at the commencement are copied from the opening of the first part of "Henry VI."

De Burbagio et Reginâ.

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!
Comets importing change shoot through the sky:
Scourge the foul fates that thus afflict our sight!
Burbadge, the player, has vouchsafed to die!
Therefore, in London is not one eye dry:
The deaths of men who act our Queens and Kings,
Are now more mourn'd than are the real things.

The Queen is dead! to him now what are Queens?
Queans of the theatre are much more worth,
Drawn to the playhouse by the bawdy scenes,
To revel in the foulness they call mirth.
Dick Burbadge was their mortal god on earth:
When he expires, lo! all lament the man;
But where's the grief should follow good Queen Ann?

JOHN HEMINGE.

To what class of actors Heminge[1] belonged we are without information, beyond the statement of Malone, that "in some tract," of which he had forgotten to preserve the title, he was said to have been the original performer of Falstaff.[2] Malone does not tell us that he met with this assertion in a publication of, or near, the time of Shakespeare; and it may deserve as little credit as the assertion of Roberts, the actor, in his answer to Pope in 1729, that Heminge was a tragedian, and that, in conjunction with Condell, he also followed the business of printing.[3] If this were true, it is singular that no production of their press has reached us: Roberts does not adduce a particle of evidence on the point, traditional or otherwise, and it is not impossible that he blunderingly set down Heminge and Condell as the printers, instead of the editors of the folio of Shakespeare's "Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies," in 1623: that work purports to have been printed, as most of our readers are aware, "by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount," although it is not at all unlikely that they received assistance, in so large an undertaking, from other persons engaged in the same branch of business. There is no doubt that several of our early actors followed also other occupations: such has

[1] The name of Heminge is spelt in old documents in a variety of ways—Hemmings, Hemminge, Hemings, Hemynge, Hemming, Heming, and as we have given it. It is Heminge in his will, and at the end of the address to the folio Shakespeare of 1623, although printed Hemmings in the prefixed list of the "principal actors" in the plays.

[2] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 187.

[3] Ibid., iii., 186.

been the case down to our own day; and it seems much more likely that Heminge was by trade a grocer: so he terms himself in his will, having been free of that company.

We have no knowledge of his connexion with theatrical affairs anterior to 1596, when he was one of the eight actors who presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying that they might not be prevented from repairing and enlarging the Blackfriars theatre.[1] The name of Heminge comes third, following those of Pope and Burbadge, and preceding those of Phillips, Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley: this position would lead us to conclude that he was at that time both of rank and standing in the profession. As to his age, Ben Jonson called him "old Mr. Heminge" in his "Masque of Christmas," presented in 1616,[2] when Ben Jonson was himself forty-two, so that we can hardly reckon Heminge less, at that date, than sixty; which would carry back his birth to 1556, and make him eight years older than Shakespeare. Our persuasion is, that Heminge was an actor before Shakespeare joined a theatrical company; but, as we have already remarked, we find no trace of him at by any means so early a date in any existing theatrical record.

The name of Heminge was not at all uncommon in Warwickshire, and Malone found that two persons bearing it, John and Richard, were settled at Shottery, near Stratford-upon-Avon, early in the reign of Elizabeth: John Heminge had a daughter baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1567; and Richard Heminge had a son christened John in the same church, on 7th March, 1570. It is hardly possible, for a reason here-

[1] See p. 18 of the present volume.

[2] Richard Burbadge is also there mentioned only as "Master Burbage," and there is no doubt that he was considerably junior to Heminge: the passage runs thus—"Master Burbadge has been about and about with me, and so has old master Heminge too; they have need of him." They are talking of the boy who was to play Cupid.—*Gifford's Ben Jonson*, vii., 277. See also p. 43 of the present volume.

after apparent, that this John Heminge should have been our actor, and we are inclined to carry back his birth to a period beyond the year 1558, the earliest date in the Stratford registers. The circumstance that Heminges were domiciled so near Stratford-upon-Avon would have had more weight with us, if the name had not been frequent in most parts of the kingdom, and the subject of the present memoir may, after all, have been born in London, and apprenticed to a grocer. We know not that any allusion was intended—probably not; but Ralph, the stage-struck hero of Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," first printed in 1613, was a grocer's apprentice. Heminge may have evinced the like early propensity, may have taken to the stage, and may subsequently have carried on his business, and at the same time exercised himself in his quality. If he had not been engaged as a grocer late in life, there seems no sufficient reason for so terming himself in his will.

In 1599 Heminge was, unquestionably, a prominent actor among the Lord Chamberlain's theatrical servants,[1] as appears by the following quotation from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth: he and Pope were the persons then representing the company, and in their names the warrant was made out for the payment of money due to the whole body for performances before the Queen. We give it as the earliest entry of the kind, yet discovered, in which the name of Heminge occurs:—

"Paid to John Heming and Thomas Pope, servaunts unto the Lo. Chamberlein, uppon the Councell's warrant, dated at the Courte at Nonesuch, ij° die Octobrs, 1599, for three interludes, or playes, played before her Ma^tie on St. Stephen's daye at night, New year's daye at night, and

[1] Chalmers ("Apology," p. 435) tells us, that "as early as November, 1597, Heminge appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company," and he refers to the Registers of the Privy Council as his authority, but those records by no means establish any such point.

Shrouctewsday at night, last past, the some of xx^{li}; and to them more by waye of her Ma^{ts} rewarde, the some of x^{li}. In all xxx^{li}."

We are indebted to Mr. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts" for this information [1]; and he adds in a note, that he thinks Heminge was never at the head of the company, but acted throughout as treasurer. Such may be the fact: Heminge may have filled the office of treasurer to the association; and, as far as we can judge, he seems to have been a most proper person for the duty, but we meet with no evidence on the subject, beyond the circumstance that he was often one of those appointed to receive the money due from the court. Various eminent performers were at times selected for the same purpose, and others were associated with them, as in the instance above quoted. Heminge alone appears to have been named in a similar warrant of 17th February, 1599-1600, for three other "interludes or playes:" on 31st March, 1601, John Heminge and Richard Cowley were the recipients of the royal bounty on behalf of their fellows; on 20th April, 1603, rather less than a month before the date of the patent of James I., the entry of payment is, "To John Hemynges, and the rest of his companie, servaunts to the Lorde Chamberleyne." He is mentioned alone, and called "one of his Majesty's players" [2] (which the company became on the accession of James I.), on December 3, 1603, when he was paid £30 for the performance of a play before the King at Wilton, the company having been commanded from Mortlake for the gratification of his Majesty. As Mr. Cunningham remarks, this is a very interesting memorandum, for it shows that the first play exhibited in England before James I. was

[1] "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," Introduction, p. xxxii.

[2] In the patent granted by James I. to his players on 17th May, 1603, the name of Heminge stands fifth, after those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, and Phillips, and before those of Condell, Sly, Armyn, and Cowley.

by Shakespeare's company, and in the house of the Earl of Pembroke.[1] It is deeply to be regretted, that at this date it was not usual to set out the titles of the plays in the warrants of payment for them: at an earlier period they were not unfrequently given, and hence our only existing knowledge of several dramatic productions: at a later date also such was sometimes the practice; but at this juncture, when James I. had just ascended the throne of England, and Shakespeare occupied the throne of the drama, the names of plays seem to have been omitted. The earliest revival of the practice, as far as we now know, was on 21st June, 1614, when Joseph Taylor, as one of the players of the Princess Elizabeth, was paid £16 13*s.* 4*d.* for the performance of "Eastward Ho!" and "The Dutch Courtesan." Another instance of the same kind occurred on the 11th June, 1615, when Nathaniel Field (it is not stated in the document to what company he was attached) had a warrant for £10 for the representation of Ben Jonson's "Bartholemew Fair."[2] These were two exceptions to the general rule; and a third, applicable to Heminge and to the company of the King's players, of much higher interest, belongs to the 20th April and the 15th May, 1618: Heminge was then paid £20 for the representation before the King of "Twelfth Night" and "The Winter's Tale," and £10 for "The Merry Devil of Edmonton." The two first had been performed on Easter Monday and Tuesday preceding, and the last on the 3rd May. It will be understood that we speak here of warrants for the payment of the actors, and not of the accounts of the Master of the Revels, which sometimes furnish the titles of dramas, as well as minute and interesting matters connected with the expenditure for their performance at court.[3]

[1] "Revels' Accounts," Introduction, p. xxxiv.

[2] It is ascertained from the title-page of the comedy itself, that it was originally represented by the players of the Princess Elizabeth in 1614.

[3] See Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," pp. 203 and 210, where we hear, for the first time, of the representation at court, in the

In March, 1615, John Heminge was summoned before the Privy Council in his capacity of a leader and representative of the company, and his name was coupled in the instrument with that of Richard Burbadge: they and other actors had disobeyed the injunction of the Lord Chamberlain by playing during Lent, and on this account they had incurred displeasure; but it is likely that it was removed on submission to the Master of the Revels, for although there is a notice in the registers of the Privy Council that Heminge and Burbadge, with six other players of different companies, were ordered to attend, no entry is made of their appearance at the time appointed, and possibly it was dispensed with, and the offence passed over.[1]

He buried his wife on the 2nd September, 1619, as appears by the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in which parish he seems always to have resided when in London, a circumstance for which we may easily account, if we suppose that he carried on the trade of a grocer there. Malone remarks, that it was "sufficiently commodious for his performances at the Globe theatre, to which, by crossing the Thames, he could

twelve months between October 1604 and October 1605, of the following plays: Othello—The Merry Wives of Windsor—Measure for Measure—The Comedy of Errors—How to learn of a Woman to woo—All Fools—Love's Labours Lost—Henry the Fifth—Every Man out of his Humour—Every Man in his Humour—The Merchant of Venice—The Spanish Maz [?]. Between October 1611 and October 1612, the following dramas were acted at court: The Tempest—The Winter's Tale—A King and no King—Green's Tu Quoque—The Almanack—The Twin's Tragedy—Cupid's Revenge—The Silver Age—The Nobleman—Hymen's Holiday—The Maid's Tragedy. Nothing can well be more valuable than this information, and Mr. Cunningham was the first to bring it to light. It is deeply to be lamented that similar documents, applicable to intervening years, do not seem to have been preserved in the depository from which these were rescued.

[1] See p. 43; and "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 394.

reach in a short time."[1] This is perhaps true, but still it was unusual for actors to live so far off, unless they had other business which called them from the immediate neighbourhood of the playhouses with which they were connected; and this consideration gives greater weight to the notion, which does not seem to have occurred to others, that Heminge was a grocer as well as an actor. He had been married at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, as long before as 10th March, 1587-8, so that unless he had been only about seventeen years old at the time, he was not the John Heminge who was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1570. The name of his wife was Rebecca Knell, and Chalmers conjectures that she was "the widow of William Knell,"[2] the very distinguished comic performer celebrated by Thomas Heywood.[3] In the first place, we are not sure that Knell's name was William, which is necessary to the supposition of Chalmers; and in the next we are without proof that he was ever married.

During the two-and-thirty years they were living together in the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the wife of John Heminge produced him a numerous family: they had thirteen children; and supposing such of them as died to have been buried where they were born, ten of them survived their parents. The eldest, a daughter, named Ales or Alice, was baptized on 1st November, 1590. Four other daughters followed, viz.:—Mary, baptized on the 26th May, and buried on the 9th August, 1592; Judith, baptized on the 29th August, 1593; Thomasine, baptized on the 15th January, 1594-5; and Jone, baptized on the 2nd May, 1596. These five daughters in succession, were followed by as many sons in succession, viz.:—John, baptized on the 2nd April, and buried on the 17th June, 1598; another John, baptized on the 12th August, 1599; Bevis (spelt Beavis in the register), baptized

[1] "Shakspeare" by Boswell, iii., 187.

[2] "Apology for the Believers," p. 436.

[3] "Apology for Actors," p. 43, Shakesp. Soc. reprint.

on the 24th May, 1601; William, baptized on the 3rd October, 1602; and George, baptized on the 12th February, 1603-4. Three more daughters came after the five sons, viz.:—Rebecca, baptized on the 4th February, 1604-5; Elizabeth, baptized on the 6th March, 1607-8; and Mary, baptized on the 21st June, and buried on the 23rd July, 1611. In his will Heminge also mentions a daughter Margaret, but no such name occurs in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and we may conjecture that she was born and christened in the country: neither does it appear that all the burials of his children are included in the same registers; and as William Heminge was left sole executor of his father's will, and other sons are not noticed, we may infer, perhaps, that John, Bevis, and George had died, and were interred out of their father's parish. Malone mentions a daughter Beatrice, but we have looked in vain for her name in the registers of St. Mary, and there is no notice of her elsewhere.[1]

The eldest daughter, Ales or Alice, was married at her parish church on the 11th February, 1611-12, to John Atkins; and they were living with their father at the time he made his will, and they had a son named Richard. Three other daughters were also married: Rebecca to Captain William Smith, Margaret to Mr. Thomas Shepherd, and a daughter, not specified, to a person of the name of Merefield; but, as her husband is not spoken of, perhaps she was a widow at the death of her father: his daughter Elizabeth, who is also separately noticed in the will, was probably still single.

Heminge continued to occupy his house, and perhaps to carry on his business in Aldermanbury after the death of his wife, but it seems likely that besides his interest in the Globe theatre, he had other property, and perhaps relatives, in Southwark: he left a legacy to the Rev. John Rice, the

[1] Both Chalmers and Malone omit to mention the burial of "Swynnerton Heminge, an infant," on 8th June, 1613: he was the last child.

clergyman of that parish, "for a remembrance of my love unto him;" and on 1st June, 1600, a William Heminge was married to Margaret Evans: on 6th July, 1609, Ellinor Heminge was married to Thomas Pester; and as late as 1625, William Tawyer, who is expressly called in the register "Mr. Heminge's man," was buried at St. Saviours. There were also several Heminges in Shoreditch, and one of them, Samuel, occupied a house in Holywell Street, which seems to have been inhabited very much by actors, and persons in various ways connected with our old theatres.

It can hardly be disputed that John Heminge was at the head of the King's Players in 1619; and when they obtained their new Patent in March of that year his name stands first, even before that of Burbadge (who was in fact dead) and it is followed by those of Condell, Lowen, Tooley, Underwood, Field, and five others.[1] He seems, together with Condell, to have relinquished the active duties of the profession about the time when they executed their great work of collecting and printing the dramatic productions of their illustrious contemporary. Their names, it is true, occur in a Patent conceded two years after the publication of the first folio, but they apparently quitted the stage as performers, (though not as managers) when we may suppose that they began to employ themselves in securing the manuscripts of Shakespeare's comedies, histories, and tragedies, in arranging them for publication, and in correcting the press.

Hence arises the question at what date they commenced this great and most valuable enterprise, which has perhaps saved from oblivion about half of what was ever written by our great dramatist: but for Heminge and Condell, dramas like "The Winter's Tale," "Macbeth," "Cymbeline," and all the others that were printed for the first time in the folio of 1623, might have entirely perished; and even now we are not sure

[1] This Patent is quoted at length in "The History of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 416.

that they included all the writings of a dramatic character that came from his pen. We are willing to hope that no play was accidentally omitted; but we cannot help fearing that many prologues and epilogues, and additions to his own, and even to the works of others, have been excluded. We know that it was the custom with Ben Jonson, Dekker, Webster, Marston, Heywood, and other contemporaries of Shakespeare, to employ their talents in this way, when required by the occasion, at other theatres; and as Shakespeare was for so many years the chief writer for the Lord Chamberlain's players, (after the accession of James I. called the King's servants) we are apprehensive that he contributed much, of an accidental and temporary kind, which has not come down to us, and will never be recovered. This is a loss we shall therefore always have to deplore; but our obligations to the piety of Heminge and Condell towards their "friend and fellow," in what they did in the collection and publication of the "Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies" of Shakespeare, cannot be too often nor too deeply acknowledged.

It is one of the problems in the life of our great dramatist that will never be solved, how it happened that he, who could write such plays, could be so indifferent as to their appearance in print. Many of those that were published in his lifetime were, as Heminge and Condell tell "the great variety of readers" in their preliminary address, "maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious imposters;" and Shakespeare seems to have done nothing to right himself in the eyes of the world in this respect. He probably superintended the passage through the press of his two poems, "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece," but it is our conviction that, as far as regards any of his plays, he never corrected a line of them after they were in type. Even with respect to the two dramas, that with most show of probability may be said to have been published entire, in order to check the sale of imperfect, mutilated, and surreptitious copies—"Romeo and Juliet" and

"Hamlet"—we feel persuaded that their author was in no way instrumental in the issue of the more authentic copies: it seems, as far as we can judge, to have been the act of the company, with the view of correcting an injurious notion as to the real value and character of the pieces then in a course of daily representation at the Globe or Blackfriars theatres.

This is not the place to enter as fully as we could wish into this discussion, and our main reason for adverting to it is to establish how much we owe to Heminge and Condell, who were so much more careful of the fame of our great dramatist than he himself appears to have been. After his plays had answered their purpose on the stage, he seems to have been utterly reckless as to their fate. It would have surprised nobody if, after his retirement to Stratford-upon-Avon about 1612, he had employed himself in doing what was afterwards done for him by two of his brother performers; but all that has reached us tends to show that he preserved to the last the indifference which had marked him from the first.

What assistance Heminge and Condell obtained in the course of their undertaking must be matter of mere speculation: that they received some aid is more than probable; and, whether it was or was not given by Ben Jonson, as has been supposed, it is quite clear to our judgment that the introductory epistle, containing the subsequent brief and admirable notice of Shakespeare and his writings, could not have been penned by them—"Who, as he was a happy imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it: his mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers." This passage could hardly have been written by Ben Jonson, consistently with the anecdote told of him in connexion with the absence of erasures in Shakespeare's original manuscripts.

The above quotation is more important than it may appear at first sight, and than it seems to have struck others that it is, inasmuch as we may infer from it that Heminge and Condell

sometimes employed for their work not merely the copies made for the use of the actors by the mechanical writers for the theatre, but those manuscripts which had come in so fair a state from the hand of Shakespeare himself. To what extent they were able to do so, after the fire at the Globe, we cannot determine, but this consideration gives to the volume they published an additional claim to our reverence and admiration on the ground of its authenticity.

At the date when it appeared, consisting as it does of nearly 1000 pages, the process of printing (even supposing the MS., as there is some reason to believe, to have been placed in the hands of more than one printer) must have occupied a considerable period—scarcely less than a year. There is little doubt that the title-page and all the preliminary matter were printed last; and there, as well as at the close of the volume, we find the date of 1623: nevertheless there is a copy of the first folio in existence with the date of 1622, so that, although the publication was afterwards postponed, and the date changed to 1623 we may be pretty sure that the book was ready by the end o 1622.[1] We suppose the process of printing to have been commenced at the close of 1621, and we cannot allow less than a previous year to the editors for the collection of their materials it may, indeed, have occupied a much longer time, and they may not only have contemplated, but begun their undertaking soon after the death of Shakespeare. The book does credit t

[1] The entry in the registers of the Stationers' Company is dated 8th November, 1623, but it must have been made just before the volume was issued to the public, and some time after the printing of it had been finished, unless we suppose the date of the one copy in 1622 to have been a mere error of the press: such may certainly have been the case. The author of the present volume has never had an opportunity of seeing the copy of the folio with the date of 1622, but is informed by a gentleman who has seen it, that the date is on the title-page and at the end of the work; so that, if 1622 be an error, it was committed by the printer twice over.

the age, even as a specimen of typography: it is on the whole remarkably accurate, and so desirous were the editors and printers of correctness, that they introduced changes for the better, even while the sheets were in progress through the press.

The connexion of Heminge and Condell with this great work was certainly the most important incident of their lives, and posterity can never be too grateful to them for having undertaken it.

Although we suppose them to have retired from the active duties of the profession about 1622, it is certain that to the last day of their lives they were interested in the receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres: we take it, that they continued to superintend the getting up and performance of plays for some years after they ceased to appear publicly in them. On this account we still read their names in the patent granted by Charles I. to his "well beloved servants" when he came to the throne: John Heminge and Henry Condell stand first in the enumeration of thirteen, followed by Lowen, Taylor, and other players more or less distinguished. We know that in 1625, if not before, Condell had withdrawn to his "country house" at Fulham,[1] and he at least could not then have devoted much personal attention to the affairs of the stage; but at the same time it is to be recollected that the plague was then committing great ravages in the metropolis, and that the theatres were temporarily closed. Charles I. conceded his royal license while the disease prevailed to an alarming extent, but with the clause, inserted by his father in 1619, that the company was only to act "when the infection of the plague in London did not weekly exceed forty."

Whether Heminge remained in Aldermanbury while the virulence of the disorder was unabated we have not the same means of knowing as exist in the case of Condell, who died about three years before his co-editor of the collection of

[1] See the Memoirs of H. Condell in a subsequent part of this volume.

Shakespeare's dramatic productions. Heminge was appointed by Condell, in December, 1627, one of the overseers of his will, with a legacy of £5.

We hear of Heminge again in connexion with the King's players on the 6th May, 1629, when he received the usual biennial donation of four yards of "bastard scarlet" for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for a cape: in the order for making this allowance of "royal livery" to the actors, as servants of the crown, the name of John Heminge stands first, followed by those of Lowen, Taylor, and eleven others. In 1625, the company consisted of thirteen performers, including Heminge, but in 1629 there were thirteen without him. He may have been still reckoned an actor in 1625, and he may have ceased to be so considered in 1629.

Nevertheless, he continued as its leader to represent the company at court to within less than a month of his death. The plague made its fatal appearance again early in the year 1630, and kept the theatres closed for six months prior to the 20th September, when an order was issued under privy seal for bestowing upon the King's players £100 "in regard of their great hindrance of late received," and it was directed that the money should be conveyed through the hands of Heminge. As it is the last document from the court in which his name is found, we here quote it from the original:—

Right trusty and well beloved, &c. Charles, by the grace of God, &c. To the Treasurer and Under-treasurer of our Exchequer, for the time being, greeting. Whereas, we have given order that our servant, John Heminge, and the rest of our players, shall attend upon us and our dearest consort, the Queen, at our next coming to Hampton Court. And forasmuch as we are graciously pleased, in regard of their great hindrance of late received, whereby they are disabled to attend this service, to bestow upon them the sum of one hundred pounds, we do hereby will and command you, out of our treasure remaining in the receipt of our said Exchequer, forthwith to pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Heminge, for himself and the rest of our said servants, the

said sum of one hundred pounds, as of our free gift and bounty, without any account, imprest, or other charge to be set upon him or them, or any of them, for the same or any part thereof. And these, &c. Given under our signet at our Palace of Westminster, the 20th day of September, in the sixth year of our reign.

R. KIRKHAM.

No doubt Heminge received and distributed this royal bounty, but he died about twenty days after the date of it: he made his will on the 9th; it was proved on the 11th, and he was buried on the 12th October, 1630, in the churchyard of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the register recording his name as "John Heminge, player."

The whole proceeding was extremely hasty, and as the will was never finally executed by the testator, there is abundant reason for concluding, with Malone, that he died of the plague,[1] which then raged, and, as we have just seen, had prevented the company from performing at Hampton Court. When Malone asserts, however, that Heminge "died on the 10th of October," he had no authority for the statement beyond the fact that the will was proved on the 11th October by William Heminge, *filius dicti defuncti;* and it seems unlikely that the son should have gone to Doctors' Commons for the purpose on the very day after the decease of his father. To us it appears more probable that the death took place very suddenly on the day the will bears date, and that this was the reason why the signature of the testator was not affixed to it. Chalmers arrived at the conclusion that Heminge died "at the age of seventy-five," and Malone says that he was "in, as I conjecture, the seventy-fourth or seventy-fifth year of his age;" but the truth is that, until we are able to settle when he was born, we must remain in ignorance of the exact period of life he had reached in 1630. If his birth be placed, as we have supposed, in 1556, he was in his seventy-fourth year.

Boswell found among Malone's papers the copy of a con-

[1] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 190.

firmation of arms to "John, son and heir of George Hemings of Droitwich, in the county of Worcester, Gent,"[1] granted by Sir William Segar in 1628: therein it is said that John Hemings, of London, Gent., had "of long time been servant to Queen Elizabeth;" but if this be our John Heminge, he was never, as far as existing evidence goes, called servant to the Queen, but to the Lord Chamberlain, in the reign of Elizabeth. This, however, may have been an error on the part of the herald, or Heminge may at one time have been a member of one of the Queen's two companies; but, as there are no other means of identification, we must remain in doubt whether the instrument apply to John Heminge, the actor, or to some other person of the same name.[2] It does not appear when the original grant of arms had been made.[3]

In his will Heminge left his son William sole executor, (without naming his other sons, who were perhaps dead) and "Mr. Burbadge and Mr. Rice to be the overseers" of it. William Heminge, we have seen, was born in 1602: according to Anthony Wood,[4] he was educated at Westminster school, and from thence elected to Christchurch, Oxford, in 1621; but he did not matriculate until 1624, and took his degree of M.A. in 1628. He made three attempts in dramatic poetry, but probably not until after the death of his father: the earliest in point of date, "The Coursing of a Hare, or the Mad Cap,"

[1] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 188.

[2] According to the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, "Walter Hemings, a Worcestershire man," was buried on 16th March, 1625. It is not said that he came from Droitwich.

[3] It is stated by Segar that George Hemings, of Droitwich, bore "for his ancient coat armour, or on a cheveron sable, three phayons of the first between three lions' heads arrashed of the second langued gucles: and for his crest or cognizance, on a helm the chapeau of azure double indented ermine, a lion jacent of the same langued and cnarmed, mantled and doubled."

[4] Athen. Oxon., edit. Bliss iii., 277.

was licensed for the Fortune theatre in March 1632-3, but never printed, and is said to have been one of the plays formerly in the possession of Warburton, and destroyed by his servant. Two other dramas by him, "The Fatal Contract" and "The Jew's Tragedy," were published: the first went through two editions in 1653 and 1661, and the last was printed in 1562. "The Oxford Antiquary" also informs us that William Heminge "left behind him greater monuments of his worth and ability" than these dramas. The books and papers mentioned in his father's will must have devolved into his hands as executor, and they would be invaluable not merely as relates to the history of the stage during the long period Heminge was connected with it, but especially as regards Shakespeare and his dramatic productions. The old manager, or treasurer (as Mr. P. Cunningham supposes him to have been) kept books, as he states in his will, which showed the "good yearly profit" he derived from his shares in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, and if these could be recovered they would certainly supply us with much the same information regarding Shakespeare's transactions with the King's players, as Henslowe furnished in his "Diary" respecting the numerous dramatists who wrote for the companies in whose receipts he was interested. There seems no reason why William Heminge should destroy them, and they may still lurk in some dark and dusty depository. Let us hope that the Shakespeare Society may yet be the means of recovering them.

The following is a copy of John Heminge's will—

In the name of God, amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the sixth year of the reign of our sovercign lord, Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I, John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and incertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following:

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury, in London, as near unto my loving wife, Rebecca Heminge, who lieth interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her, there, if the same conveniently may be: wherein I do desire my executor hereinafter named carefully to see my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp, or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, my will is that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons, (being truly and properly mine own debts) shall be well and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leases, goods, chattels, plate, and household stuff whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the moneys thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same as may be converted into moneys and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leases, goods, and chattels, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts, which I have by lease in the several playhouses of the Globe and Blackfriars,[1] for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor, hereinafter named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and

[1] See p. ccxx of Collier's Life of Shakespeare, where it appears that Heminge was the owner of two shares of the profits of the Blackfriars theatre about the year 1608: we may presume perhaps that he continued equally interested to the end of his life.

that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety, or one half of the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts, they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety, or one half of the yearly benefit of my said parts in the said playhouses, shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient moneys to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said playhouses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said playhouses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me hereinafter given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the trust and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter, Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best suit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my son Smith, her husband, his wife's picture, set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter, Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my said son Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield, my cloth-of-silver striped cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's and my daughter Sheppard's children as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings a piece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law, John Atkins, and his now wife, if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings, in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesty's servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings a piece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark, (if he shall be living at the time of my decease) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love to him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint that the several legacies and sums of money by me hereinbefore bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several playhouses called the Globe and Blackfriar's, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be: and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor, herein after named, especially to take care that my debts first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be, according as I have hereinbefore in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said playhouses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my

estate, that then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like: and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge, to be the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends, Mr. Burbadge and Mr. Rice, to be the overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magistro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, juramento Willielmi Heminge, filii naturalis et legitimi dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c., de bene, &c., jurat.

Malone states, "From an entry in the council-books at Whitehall I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouse before the death of Queen Elizabeth."[1] We regret that he did not give the particular reference, because we have more than once searched the volumes of the Privy Council Registers for the purpose, and have not been able to find any such information: nevertheless, the fact may be so, and Malone was not careless in his statements; but at his death Heminge was certainly only one of the leaseholders both of the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres. He tells us so in his will: "and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half, of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts *which I have by lease* in the several playhouses

[1] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 190.

of the Globe and Blackfriars, *for and during such time and term as I have therein*, be," &c. It is clear, therefore, that in 1630 the freehold was in some other persons, and we know, by evidence adduced in our Memoir of Richard Burbadge, that his son William and his brother Cuthbert were owners of the freehold of the Blackfriars. The fact would seem to be, that all the sharers in the Blackfriars were leaseholders for a certain term of years, as in the case of the Fortune, when it was built and rebuilt by Edward Alleyn; and such may have been, and probably was, the condition of John Heminge in respect to the Globe: he was a leaseholder, the freehold being in some other persons, whose names have not been ascertained—possibly the Burbadges. It afterwards became the property of Sir Matthew Brand, but from whom he purchased it is not known.

The "Mr. Burbadge," appointed one of the overseers of Heminge's will, must have been, as Malone states, Cuthbert, the brother of Richard; for William Burbadge, the son of Richard, was only fourteen years old in 1630. "Mr. Rice,"[1] the other overseer, was most likely the Rev. John Rice, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, previously mentioned in the will: nevertheless, an actor in the company to which Heminge belonged was named John Rice, and he is one of those enumerated in the folio of 1623, as a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's plays: his name stands last in the list, and very little is known of him, but we shall have occasion to speak of him in due course.

[1] On p. 221 of Shakspeare by Boswell, Malone erroneously calls this clergyman "Stephen Rice, clerk." In the preceding memoir we have corrected various errors committed by Malone and Chalmers, arising out of carelessness in consulting the Registers of St Mary, Aldermanbury: both of them omitted the notice of Heminge's last child, a son named after Sir John Swinnerton, who lived and died in the parish.

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS.

There is little doubt that Augustine Phillips was chiefly a comic performer in the later part of his career, whatever he may have been at its commencement.[1] We first hear of him, as of several others, prior to the year 1588, when he was the representative of Sardanapalus in Tarlton's plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins." We have no clue to his age at that date, but he was most likely by no means an elderly man, although he survived only sixteen or seventeen years afterwards: at his death his mother (as appears by his will) was living, and her name was then Agnes Bennett, which proves that she must have been married a second time; unless by the words "my loving mother" we are to understand his wife's mother. He calls William and James Webb his "brothers," although they were most likely only brothers-in-law, from having married two of his sisters, or from his having married their sister: the former is the more probable, because there is some reason to believe that Augustine Phillips married a sister of Edward Alleyn, of whom, however, we hear on no other authority. Philip Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on the 28th September, 1593, speaks of Alleyn's "sister Phillips and her husband," as of a person engaged in the same line of life—"Your sister Phillipes and

[1] He may possibly have been descended from the "Robert Phillippe, momer," who was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 9th April, 1559. "Momer" meant *mummer*, a not very unusual designation for a player at that date. This is the first time the name of Robert Phillippe, or Phillippes, has been mentioned in connexion with our early stage.

her husband hath leced (i. e. *lost*, by the plague then prevailing) two or three out of ther howsse, yt there (i. e., *yet they are*) in good health, and doth hartily comend them unto you."[1] It is not impossible that Henslowe alluded to the father of Augustine Phillips, as one of the persons in his family who had died of the plague, for in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, we read the subsequent entry of a burial:—

"1592, July 24. Augustine Phillipps."

The plague was raging in the summer of 1592, although Henslowe's letter to Alleyn bears date some time afterwards, and he might refer to other and subsequent domestic losses Augustine Phillips and his wife had sustained. The register does not state whether the Augustine Phillipps, who was buried in July, 1592, were a man or a child, and it may have been the latter, and one of the early offspring of our actor and his wife. Her name was Anne, but when or where they were united is uncertain, as no marriage of persons with those names is to be found in the parish registers we have had an opportunity of consulting. Those of St. Saviour's, Southwark, show that they had a daughter, Magdalen, baptized in the autumn of 1594, and the clerk, or the clergyman, added to the entry, in Latin, the profession of the father:—

"1594, September 29. Magdalen Phillips, daughter of Awsten, *histrionis*."

When, less than two years afterwards, they had another daughter baptized at the same church, *histrionis* was translated in words it had been more the custom to use forty or fifty years earlier:—

"1596, July 11. Rebecca Phillips, daughter of Augustine, player of interludes."

[1] "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 32: in a previous, but undated letter, Alleyn had desired to be remembered to his "sister Phillyps." Ibid., p. 26.

A few years afterwards the addition to the name was that more commonly employed;

1601. November 29. Awstyn Phillipps, son of Awsten, a player.

This baptismal entry seems to render it more probable that the Augustine Phillipps buried in 1592 was the father of the actor, who lost the son, born in 1601 and named after him, in 1604, as we learn from the same registers at St. Saviour's, where the memorandum stands thus:—

Buried 1604. July 1. Augustine Phillipps, a childe.

Besides Magdalen and Rebecca, Phillips and his wife had two other daughters, named (as appears by the will of the father) Anne and Elizabeth, but they were not christened at St. Saviour's, and elsewhere we meet with no mention of them. If they had any other son but Augustine, born in 1601 and buried in 1604, he probably did not live long, as none is spoken of in Phillips's will. Neither Malone nor Chalmers take the slightest notice of the particulars we have above extracted from the registers of St. Saviour's. There also we find recorded the marriage of Phillips's sister, Elizabeth, to Robert Gough, the player, in the spring of 1603, although the clerk was strangely ignorant of the surname of the bride, and therefore left it blank. It is, however, ascertained from other circumstances, as will be seen hereafter in the will, as well as in our memoir of Robert Gough.

Phillips seems, like some others of the same profession in his own day, to have been not merely an actor but a musician, supposing him to have performed upon the instruments mentioned in his will. He bequeathed to Samuel Gilburne, who had been his apprentice, his base viol, and to James Sands, who was not out of his time at the date of the will, his "citterne, bandore, and lute." It is not impossible that Phillips sometimes played in what we now call the orchestra of the

association to which he belonged, and that he assisted in accompanying songs introduced into different dramas.

If we suppose him to be the author of a piece imputed to him, he had still greater versatility of talent, but we are inclined to think that it was written by somebody else, and called after his name on account of his popularity. We allude to the "Jig of the Slippers," which was entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1595, as "Phillips's Jig of the Slippers," and most likely printed under that title, though it has not come down to us either in that form or in manuscript. A jig seems to have been "a ludicrous composition in rhime, sung or said by a clown or comic performer, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon a pipe and tabor,"[1] or sometimes other musical instruments.

In the petition of the players of the Blackfriars to the Privy Council in 1596, in favour of continuing performances at that private theatre, the name of Augustine Phillips comes fourth, after those of Pope, Burbadge, and Heminge, and before those of Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley. In the patent granted by King James in May, 1603, Phillips's name is also fourth, after those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Burbadge, and before those of Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley. The only contemporary we recollect to have spoken of Phillips is Thomas Heywood, who, writing in 1612, thus placed him in company with other comic performers whom he had known and seen: "Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do them is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many."[2] We know that he sustained parts in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour,"

[1] History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, iii., 380.

[2] Heywood's "Apology for Actors," 1612, 4to., Sig. E 2 b: p. 43 of the Shakespeare Society's reprint in 1841.

and "Sejanus," acting in the first and last with Shakespeare, but what characters were assigned to him or others we have no means of ascertaining.

He seems to have lived during his stage-career in Southwark, and the token-books at St. Saviour's often contain his name as a resident in various places. In 1593 and 1595 we find him in Horse-shoe Court, but in 1601 he had removed to what was then called "the Close," and in 1602 he was in Bradshaw's Rents. In 1604 he had returned to Horse-shoe Court, and in 1605 his name had been written in the book by mistake; but, as he had removed, that of Buret was substituted as the person actually in possession of the house.

The fact is, that between 1604 and 1605 he had removed his family to Mortlake in Surrey, and in his will, dated 4th May, 1605, he speaks of "my house and land in Mortlake, which I lately purchased." He lived to enjoy it a very short time; for as his will was proved by his widow and executrix on the 13th May, it is clear that he died between the 4th and 13th of that month: the probability is that he quitted Southwark on account of ill health, and on the 4th May he states that he was "sick and weak of body." We may conclude that he had lived on the best terms with his brethren of the stage, to several of whom, including Shakespeare, (whose name stands first) Henry Condell, Christopher Beeston, (whom Phillips calls his "servant") Lawrence Fletcher, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowley, Alexander Cooke, and Nicholas Tooley, he left legacies: nor did he forget the "hired men," or hirelings of the company, who were not sharers, to whom he gave £5, to be equally divided among them. These, and other interesting particulars, will be found in the will which we have subjoined to the present memoir.[1]

He directed that all he died possessed of, (with one exception) after the payment of his funeral expenses and debts,

[1] Chalmers first published it in his Apology, p. 431.

should be divided into three equal portions, one portion to go to his wife, (who was left executrix provided she did not marry again, in which case she was to forfeit all claim under the will) another to his three eldest daughters, Magdalen, Rebecca, and Anne, and the third to be devoted to the payment of bequests, legacies,[1] &c. He designates his personal property "goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, jewels, ready money, and debts," and does not state whether he was, or was not, owner of shares in any theatres; from which, as they were specified by several other actors in their wills, we may perhaps be authorized in inferring that he had disposed of his property of that kind before he quitted London. He left his "lately purchased" house and land at Mortlake as the portion of his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, in lieu of any share of his general estate.

By his will he required that his body should be buried in the chancel of Mortlake church, which, we may believe, was accordingly done between the 4th May, when the will was dated, and the 13th May, when it was proved by the widow and executrix. We have searched the registers of deaths in the parish, but in vain, as there is a hiatus in them between the years 1603 and 1613, during which period there exists no record of the interment of any persons. Neither is there any gravestone now in the church with Phillips's name upon it; but it is to be observed that the chancel has been recently altered, and only a small part of the original pavement appears to have been preserved.

The widow and executrix soon forfeited her right, under the will, by marrying again; and on 16th May, 1607, John

[1] Among the legacies was £10 to his nephews, Myles Borne and Phillips Borne, "two sons of my sister, Margery Borne." "William Bird, alias Borne," is often mentioned as an actor in Henslowe's Diary, and he may have been the husband of Margery Borne. According to the registers of Mortlake Church, Myles Borne had a child buried there, "not baptised," on 12th October, 1623.

Heminge proved it, in virtue of the clause, that he, Burbadge, Sly, and a person of the name of Timothy Whithorne (who had been appointed overseers) should become executors on the re-marriage of Anne Phillips.

The nature of the disorder of which Phillips died is no where stated; but there seems ground for supposing that his death was by no means sudden, although it must have occurred soon after the execution of his will: it was evidently prepared in some haste, as it was written on two separate sheets of paper, in different handwritings, only one of the sheets having been signed by the testator. It is as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen, the fourth daie of Maie, Anno Domini 1605, and in the yeres of the reigne of our sovringe Lorde James, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c., that is to say of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and thirtith. I, Augustine Phillipps, of Mortlack, in the County of Surrey, Gent., beinge at this presente sick and weak in body, but of good and perfecte mynde and remembrance, thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make, ordeyne, and dispose this my presente Testamente and last Will, in manner and forme followinge, that is to say: firste and principally I commende my soule into th' ands of Allmighty God, my Maker, Savior, and Redeemer, in whome and by the meritts of the second person, Jesus Christ, I truste and believe assuredly to be saved and to have cleire remission and forgiveness of my sinnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the parishe churche of Mortelack aforesaid: and after my body buried, and funerall charge paide, then I will that all suche debts and duetyes as I owe to any person or persons, of righte or in conscience, shal be truely paide; and that done, then I will that all and singular my goods, chattels' plate, household stuffe, jewells, reddy money, and debts, shal be devided by my executrix, and overseers of this my laste will and testament, into three equall and indefferente parts and portions, whereof one equal parte I geve and bequeathe to Anne Phillipps, my loveinge wife, to her owne proper use and behoufe: one other parte thereof to and amongeste my three eldeste daughters, Maudlyne Phillipps, Rebecca Phillipps, and Anne Phillipps, equally amongste them to be devided,

portion and portion like, and to be paide and deliverd unto them as they and every of them shall accomplish and come to their lawful ages of twenty and one yeres, or at their daies of marriage, and every of them to be others heyre of their said parts and portions, yf any of them shall fortune to dye before their said several ages of twenty and one yeres or daies of marriage; and th' other parte thereof I reserve to my selfe and to my executrix, to performe my legacies hereafter followinge:—

Item, I geve and bequeathe to the poore of the parishe of Mortlack aforesaide, fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parishe within twelve monethes after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to Agnes Bennett, my loveinge mother, during her naturall life, every yere yerely, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her at the four usuall feasts or termes in the yere by my executrix, out of any parte and portion reserved by this my presente will.

Item, I geve to my brothers, William Webb and James Webb, yf they shall be lyvinge at my decease, to eyther of them the some of tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them within three yeres after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to my sister, Elizabeth Goughe, the some of tenne pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her within one yere after my decease.

Item, I will and bequeathe unto Myles Borne and Phillipps Borne, two sonnes of my sister, Margery Borne, to eyther of them tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them when they shall accomplishe the full age of twenty and one yeres.

Item, I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne, the sum of twentye pounds of lawfull money of Englande, to be paid unto him within one yere after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe unto and amongste the hyred men of the company which I am of, which shalbe at the tyme of my decease, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be equally distributed amongste them.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in gould; to my fellowe, Henry Condell, one other thirty shillinge peece in gould; to my servaunte, Christopher Beeston,

thirty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Lawrence Fletcher, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Robert Armyne, twenty shillings in gould: to my fellowe, Richard Coweley, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Alexander Cook, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Nicholas Tooley, twenty shillings in gould.

Item, I geve to the preacher, which shall preache at my funerall, the some of twenty shillings.

Item, I geve to Samuell Gilborne, my late apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and my mouse colloured velvit hose, and a white taffety dublet, a blacke taffety sute, my purple cloke, sword, and dagger, and my base viall.

Item, I geve to James Sands, my apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and a citterne, a bandore, and a lute, to be paid and delivered unto him at the expiration of his terme of yeres in his indenture of apprenticehood.

Item, my will is that Elizabeth Phillips, my youngest daughter, shall have, and quietlye enjoye, for terme of her natural lyfe, my house and land in Mortelacke which I lately purchased to me, Anne, my wife, and to the said Elizabeth, for terme of our lives, in full recompence and satisfaction of hir parte and portion which she may in any wise challenge or demand of in and to any of my goods and chattels whatsoever.

And I ordaine and make the said Anne Phillips, my loving wyfe, sole executrix of this my present testament and last will; provided alwaies that if the said Anne, my wyfe, do at any tyme marrye after my decease, that then and from thenceforth shee shall cease to be any more or longer executrix of this my last will, or any waies intermeddle with the same, and the said Anne to have no parte or portion of my goods or chattells to me or my executors reserved or appointed by this my last will and testament; and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings, Richard Burbadge, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, shal be fullie and whollie my executors of this my last will and testament, as though the said Anne had never bin named: and of the execution of this my present testament and laste will, I ordayne and make the said John Hemings, Richard Burbage, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, overseers of this my present testament and last will: and I bequeathe unto the said John Hemings, Richard Burbage, and William Slye, to either of them my said oversees, for theire paines herein to be

taken, a boule of silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In witness whereof to this my present testament and laste will, I, the said Augustine Phillipes, have put my hand and seale the day and yeare above written.

A. PHILLIPS (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered by the said Augustine Phillips, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us,

ROBERT GOFFE,
WILLIAM SHEPERD.

Robert Goffe was, of course, the actor whose name was usually spelt Gough, who had married the sister of the testator. William Shepherd may have been the scrivener, or scrivener's clerk, who drew the will: we know of no player of that name. Neither of Phillips's apprentices, Gilburne and Sands, seems to have attained eminence in the profession.

WILLIAM KEMP.

It is ascertained that William Kemp[1] was the original actor of the parts of Dogberry, in "Much Ado about Nothing," and of Peter, in "Romeo and Juliet." A knowledge of these facts is derived from the carelessness of the old copyists and printers; for in some of the early editions of the plays above mentioned, the name of the actor is found inserted instead of that of the character he sustained: thus in act iv., sc. 2, of "Much Ado about Nothing," we have Kemp and Cowley (another performer, whose name will often again occur) as the prefixes to the speeches of Dogberry and Verges, in the quarto and folio impressions;[2] and in act iv., sc. 5, of "Romeo and Juliet," we meet with "Enter Will. Kemp," instead of "Enter Peter," in the quartos of 1599 and 1609. This last mistake only was corrected in the folio of 1623. From a passage which we shall have occasion to cite presently from an anonymous comedy, called "The Return from Parnassus," it has been supposed by Malone that Kemp was also the representative of Justice Shallow in "Henry IV., Part 2;"[3] but

[1] The name is spelt Kempt in the list of actors preceding the folio of 1623, but elsewhere we find it invariably either Kempe or Kemp.

[2] The Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his Introduction to Kemp's "Nine Days' Wonder" (reprinted for the Camden Society in 1840), does not seem to have been aware that Kemp's name, instead of that of Dogberry, is found not only in the 4to. of 1600, but in the folio of 1623: he says, "In the only 4to. of 'Much Ado about Nothing,' 1600, 'Kemp' is prefixed to some speeches of Dogberry." Precisely the same remark will apply to the same comedy in the folio of 1623.

[3] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii. 197. The inference is hardly warranted by the description there given, as will be seen hereafter.

that he was the first Grave-digger in "Hamlet," Launce in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," Touchstone in "As You Like It," and Launcelot in "The Merchant of Venice," is merely matter of conjecture:[1] we know that there were other low comedians, in the company which produced Shakespeare's dramas, very capable of such parts; and we know also that Kemp did not belong to the association when it is probable that one or more of those plays was first acted.

Kemp's name is, we believe, only found in one list of the performers prefixed or appended to any play of the time, viz.—Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour;" but, as in the case of Shakespeare and the other actors, no information is given regarding the particular character assigned to him in it: the author inserts "Will. Kemp" fifth in the list at the end, in the folio edition of his works of 1616, where he tells us also that the comedy was represented by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1598. It is unquestionably a mistake to suppose that he was Carlo Buffone in the same dramatist's "Every Man out of his Humour," acted in 1599, because Kemp's name does not occur in the enumeration of players printed on the last page of the comedy, where otherwise it would assuredly have been found.[2] That he was the most popular performer of low-comedy parts after the decease of Tarlton, and until his own death, will admit of no dispute; and although direct evidence is so scanty, we may be confident that few plays of a humorous kind were produced by companies to which he belonged, while he remained on the stage, in which

[1] Chalmers's "Apology," p. 457.

[2] It is rather singular the Rev. Mr. Dyce should not have observed that Kemp's name is not in the list of performers appended by Ben Jonson himself: if there be any authority for stating that "there is good reason to believe" that Kempe acted Carlo Buffone (Introd. to Repr. of "Nine Days' Wonder," p. vi.), the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not assign it, and the author of the comedy was certainly not acquainted with the fact.

his assistance was not required: authors, who had so favourite and so capital a performer at their disposal, would not often omit to avail themselves of his services. It is singular, therefore, that Ben Jonson did not require Kemp's aid in "Every Man out of his Humour," and perhaps he was not then one of the Lord Chamberlain's players.

The earliest notice we possess of Kemp affords the strongest testimony of his celebrity. Richard Tarlton, the most famous actor of clowns' parts that our theatre, ancient or modern, ever produced, was buried, as already mentioned (p. 14), on September 3rd, 1588; and Kemp seems instantly, not merely to have stepped into the vacancy, but to have filled it with such ability as to leave little to be regretted in the loss of his predecessor. Thomas Nash printed one of his attacks upon Martin Mar-prelate in the very year after Tarlton's death, and he humorously dedicates it "To that most comicall and conceited cavaliere, Monsieur du Kempe, Jestmonger, and Vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton." The tract is entitled "An Almond for a Parrat, or Cuthbert Curry-knaves Almes;" and as the dedicatory epistle is highly humorous and characteristic, and as it proves, moreover, the continental reputation which Kemp, even in 1589, had acquired, it is subjoined from the original edition. The date is not upon the title-page of the pamphlet, but extraneous circumstances prove that it could not have been printed later than 1589.

Brother Kempe, as many alhailes to thy person as there be haicocks in July at Pancredge. So it is, that what for old acquaintance, and some other respectes of my pleasure, I have thought good to offer here certaine spare stuffe to your protection, which, if your sublimitie accept in good part, or vouchsafe to shadow with the curtaine of your countenance, I am yours till fatall destiny, two yeares after doomes day. Many write bookes to knights and men of great place, and have thankes, with promise of a further reward for their paines: others come of with

a long epistle to some ruffling courtier, that sweares, swoundes and bloud! as soone as ever their backe is turnd, a man can not goe in the streetes for these impudent beggers. To avoide, therefore, as well the worthless attendance on the one, as the usual scorne of the other, I have made choise of thy amorous selfe to be the pleasant patron of my papers. If thou wilt not accept of it, in regard of the envy of some citizens that can not away with argument, Ile preferre it to the soule of Dick Tarlton, who I know will entertaine it with thankes, imitating herein that merry man Rablays, who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Navarre many yeares after her death, for that she was a maintainer of mirth in her life. Marry, God send us more of her making, and then some of us should not live so discontented as we do; for now a dayes, a man can not have a bout with a balletter, or write *Midas habet aures asininas* in great Romaine letters, but hee shall bee in daunger of a further displeasure. Well, come on it what will, Martin and I will allow of no such doinges: wee can cracke halfe a score blades in a backe-lane though a constable come not to part us. Neither must you thinke his worship is to pure to be such a swasher, for as Scipio was called Africanus, not for relieving and restoring, but for subverting and destroying of Africa, so he and his companions are called Puritans, not for advancing or supporting of puritie by their unspotted integritie, but for their undermining and supplanting it by their manifold heresies. And in deed therein he doth but apply himselfe to that hope which his holinesse the Pope, and other confederate forriners, have conceived of his towardnesse. For comming from Venice the last summer, and taking Bergamo in my waye homeward to England, it was my happe, sojourning there some foure or five dayes, to light in felowship with that famous Francatrip' Harlicken, who, perceiving me to bee an English man by my habit and speech, asked me many particulars of the order and maner of our playes, which he termed by the name of representations: amongst other talke he enquired of me, if I knew any such Parabolano, here in London, as Signior Chiarlatano Kempino? Very well (quoth I), and have beene oft in his company. He, hearing me say so, began to embrace me a new, and offered me all the courtesie he colde for his sake, saying, although he knew him not, yet for the report he had hard of his pleasance, hee colde not but bee in love with his perfections, being absent. As we were thus discoursing, I hard such

ringing of belles, such singing, such shouting, as though Rhodes had been recovered, or the Turke quite driven out of Christendome: therewithal I might behold an hundreth bonefiers together, tables spred in the open streetes, and banquets brought in of all handes. Demaunding the reason of him that was next me, he told me the newes was there (thankes be to God) that there was a famous schismatike, one Martin, newe sprung up in England, who by his bookes, libels, and writings, had brought that to passe, which neither the Pope by his Seminaries, Philip by his power, nor all the holy league by their underhand practises and policies, could at any time effect: for whereas they lived at unitie before, and might by no meanes be drawne unto discord, hee hath invented such quidditics to set them together by the eares, that now the temporalitie is readie to plucke out the throtes of the cleargie, and subjects to withdraw their allegeance from their Soverayne: so that, in short time, it is hoped they will be up in armes one against another; whiles we, advantaged by this domesticall envy, may invade them unawares, when they shall not be able to resist. I, sory to heare of these triumphes, coulde not rest till I had related these tidinges to my countrimen. If thou hast them at the second hand (fellow Kempe) impute it to the intercepting of my papers, that have stayed for a good winde ever since the beginning of winter. Now they are arrived, make much of them, and with the credit of thy clownery protect thy Cutbert from carpers.

Thine in the way of brotherhood,

CUTBERT CURRY-KNAVE.

Another tract, with the date of 1589, may be quoted, as establishing the high character Kemp enjoyed with popular audiences. The manner in which the Puritans had just previously been ridiculed on the stage is testified by Nash in the tract already referred to, by Lily in his "Pap with a Hatchet," by the author of "A Countercuffe given to Martin, Junior," and by various other pamphleteers of the time, whom it is unnecessary here to cite; but the publication to which we have above alluded mentions Kemp by name, as one of the principal instruments of theatrical attack upon Martin Mar-prelate and his followers, and hence the peculiar appro-

priateness of the dedication to him of Nash's "Almond for a Parrot." It has for title, "Thoses Martinianæ: that is, certaine Demonstrative Conclusions, setto downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the Reverend Martin Marprelate, the great," &c., which purports to have been "printed by the assignees of Martin, Junior, without any priviledge of the Cater-caps." Among other curious passages it contains the following paragraph:—

The stage-players, poore, seelie, hunger-starved wretches, they have not so much as an honest calling to live in the common-wealth: and they, poore varlets, are so base minded, as at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England, for one poore pennie, they will be glad on open stage to play the ignominious fooles for an houre or two together. And therefore, poore rogues, they are not so much to be blamed, if being stage-players, that is plaine rogues (save onely for their liveries) they, in the action of dealing against Maister Martin, have gotten them many thousand eye-witnesses of their wittelesse and pittifull conceites.

In the next paragraph the author enumerates some of the persons who had assailed the Puritans, and among them we find the names of Dick (meaning of course Dick Tarlton, then recently dead) and Kemp, both of whom, it is contended, had "bewrayed their owne shame and miserable ignorance."

We have other evidence to prove that Kemp was looked upon by audiences at the theatres as the worthy successor of Tarlton. Thomas Heywood was the contemporary of Kemp; if, indeed (as seems not impossible from his own words on the subject) he had not been acquainted with Tarlton:[1] Heywood was not only a most prolific dramatist, often much indebted to Kemp for the success of his plays, but an actor upon the

[1] Heywood mentions Knell, Bentley, Mills the elder, Wilson, Cross, and Lanam, as performers he had never seen, "being before my time." He does not include Tarlton, whom he could scarcely have omitted from the list, if he had not had an opportunity (perhaps when quite a boy) of seeing him.

same boards. In 1612 (some years after the death of Kemp) Heywood published his "Apology for Actors," and he there speaks of Tarlton and Kempe as follows:—"Here I must needs remember Tarlton, in his time gracious with the Queene, his sovereign, and in the people's generall applause; whom succeeded Will. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience."[1] It is quite clear, therefore, that Kemp was considered, not merely by the populace, but by such good judges as Nash as Heywood, a good substitute even for an admirable comedian like Tarlton.

The year of Kemp's birth is unknown, and we have no clue whatever to his age, excepting that Nash speaks of him, in 1589, as a complete and finished actor, whose reputation had extended far beyond the shores of England. We may very well suppose him, therefore, to have been as old, or nearly as old, as Shakespeare; and in a list of the company to which they both belonged in 1589, Kemp's name immediately follows that of our great dramatist. No hint is anywhere given as to the place of his birth; but, perhaps, we may infer that it was not London, from the fact that, among others, he was celebrated for characters in which it was necessary to employ a merely rustic dialect. Several of the names of actors in the association to which Shakespeare belonged were, as before mentioned, common in Warwickshire, but we do not find that such was the case with Kemp.

He must have quitted this company (the Lord Chamberlain's servants) before June, 1592, and joined a rival body of actors under Edward Alleyn (the founder of Dulwich College), for Kemp's name is made especially prominent on the title-page of a play brought out by Alleyn and his associates between the 9th and 12th June, 1592, and printed in 1594.[2]

[1] Shakespeare Society's reprint of "An Apology for Actors," p. 43.

[2] The Rev. Mr. Dyce says, that the play "was printed in 1594, 4to., having been entered in the Stationers' books to Rich. Jones, 7th Ja-

The fact of its earliest performance is thus attested by Philip Henslowe in his "Diary," p. 27:—

Rd [i. e. received] at "A Knacke to Knowe a Knave," 1592, 1 day, iij^{li} xij^{s}.

The words "1 day" mean, that it was the *first day* it was acted, and we find the letters *ne* also in the margin, which Henslowe invariably inserted as an indication of the same fact. The full title of this drama in the printed copy is this:—"A most pleasant and merie new Comedie, intituled A Knacke to Knowe a Knave, newlie set foorth, as it hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen, and his Companie. With Kemp's applauded Merrimentes of the Men of Gotcham, in receiving the King into Gotcham. Imprinted at London by Richard Jones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne, nere Holborne bridge. 1594." We may be sure, therefore, that Kemp had rendered these "Merriments" (consisting only of part of one scene) highly laughable and popular; and for this reason, though forming so small a part of the whole performance, they were made obvious, in connexion with his name, when the production came from the press. Kemp's ground for relinquishing his situation among the Lord Chamberlain's players we are without any means of knowing: no explanation is contained in any author of the time that we have consulted; but we may presume, that, at a period when competition among various companies was so great, Kemp would be much in request, and highly advantageous terms would be held out to him, for the purpose of securing his services. We shall see hereafter, that he rejoined the association to which he had been attached in 1589, and that he subsequently again quitted it, in order to act under the manage-

nuary, of the preceding year." This, however, is an error: January, 1593, was in fact January, 1593-4, according to the usual division of the year at that period.

ment of Alleyn and Henslowe. He that could make so much out of so little, as the anonymous author of "A Knack to Know a Knave" seems to have furnished him with, must have been a valuable acquisition.

The reader cannot fail to be disappointed by "Kemp's applauded Merriments," as they stand in the printed drama; and in order that they might be relished by the audience, we must presume that Kemp, and perhaps the other performers on the stage with him, added on the sudden a great deal that has not come down to us. We shall see hereafter that Kemp, following the example of Tarlton, was in the habit of extemporising, and introducing matter of his own, which he apprehended would improve his part, and be acceptable to his hearers. The "Men of Goteham" consist of a Miller, a Cobbler, and a Smith, and as the second has to deliver a speech to King Edgar on his entrance, we may conclude that that was the part entrusted to Kemp. We subjoin the whole scene, as it stands in the very rare old play, that some judgment may be formed of the peculiar talents of the performers, who could render it laughable, and redeem it from the gross dulness of the original.

Enter mad men of Goteham, to wit, a Miller, a Cobler, and a Smith.

Miller. Now, let us consult among ourselves how to misbehave ourselves to the king's worship, Jesus blesse him! and, when he comes, to deliver him this petition. I think the Smith were best to do it, for hee's a wise man.

Cobler. Naighbor, he shall not doe it, as long as Jefferay, the translator, is Maior of the towne.

Smith. And why, I pray? because I would have put you from the mace?

Miller. No, not for that; but because he is no good fellow, nor he will not spend his pot for companie.

Smith. Why, sir, there was a god of our occupation; and I charge you, by virtue of his godhed, to let me deliver the petition.

Cobler. But soft you: your god was a cuckold, and his godhead wore

the horne, and that's the armes of the godhead you call upon. Go; you are put down with your occupation: and now I wil not grace you so much as to deliver the petition for you.

Smith. What! dispraise our trade?

Cobler. Nay, neighbour, be not angrie, for Ile stand to nothing onlie but this.

Smith. But what? Bear witnes a' gives me the but, and I am not willing to shoot. Cobler, I will talke with you. Nay, my bellowes, my coletrough, and my water, shall enter armes with you for our trade. O, neighbour! I can not beare it, nor I wil not beare it.

Miller. Heare you, neighbour: I pray, conswade yourself and be not wilful, and let the Cobler deliver it. You shall see him mar all.

Smith. At your request: I will commit my selfe to you, and lay my selfe open to you lyke an oyster.

Miller. Ile tell him what you say. Heare you, naighbor; we have constulted to let you deliver the petition: doe it wisely, for the credite of the towne.

Cobler. Let me alone; for the king's carminger was here: he sayes the king will be here anon.

Smith. But heark! by the mas, he comes.

Enter the King, DUNSTON, *and* PERIN.

King. How now, Perin! who have we here?

Cobler. We, the townesmen of Goteham,
Hearing your grace would come this way,
Did thinke it good for you to stay.
(But hear you, neighbours, bid somebody ring the bels.)
And we are come to you alone,
To deliver our petition.

King. What is it, Perin? I pray thee reade.

Perin. Nothing, but to have a license to brew strong ale thrise a week; and he that comes to Gotcham and will not spende a penie on a pot of ale, if he be a drie, that he may fast.

King. Well, sirs, we grant your petition.

Cobler. We humblie thanke your royall majesty.

King. Come, Dunston; let's away. *Exeunt omnes.*

This constitutes the whole of the "applauded merriments,"

and this was probably all that the author of the "Knack to know a Knave" had put down for the performers, leaving it to Kemp, and the two other comic actors concerned with him, to make what additions occurred to them in order to excite laughter. When, some years afterwards, Kemp was called upon to perform the part of Dogberry, it is not impossible that he might attempt to take the same liberty with his text, and this very circumstance may have led Shakespeare in his "Hamlet," at a shortly subsequent date, so severely to censure the practice. How different is the poor blundering dialogue between the Miller, the Cobbler, and the Smith, from the rich humour put into the mouths of Dogberry, Verges, and the Watch, we need not pause to show. The practice of Kemp and his predecessor in extemporizing is adverted to by Richard Brome, (an excellent dramatist, who had lived in the service of Ben Jonson, and generally took that distinguished poet for his model) in his comedy called "Antipodes," which was not printed until 1640, but must have been written some years earlier. It is in a dialogue between Byplay, an actor, and an old lord, called Letoy, who is endeavouring to instruct him and to correct some of his bad propensities: among other faults, Letoy complains of Byplay that he takes upon himself to add to or diminish his part, and to hold interlocutions with the audience, instead of attending to the dialogue and business of the scene: Byplay answers—

> That is a way, my lord, has been allowed
> On elder stages, to move mirth and laughter.

Upon which Letoy adds

> Yes, in the days of Tarlton[1] and Kempe,
> Before the stage was purg'd from barbarism,

[1] In this line "Tarlton" is clearly to be spoken as three syllables, and it will be recollected that it is so written in the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where he was buried—*Torrellon.* Vide p. 15. The most

And brought to the perfection it now shines with.
Then fools and jesters spent their wits, because
The poets were wise enough to save
Their own for profitabler uses.

Such might have been the usual "way" in the days of Tarlton, and in the earlier part of the career of Kemp, possibly before Shakespeare had become an established writer for the stage, and the practice may have prevailed to a certain, and an objectionable extent afterwards.

At the time when Kemp played in "A Knack to know a Knave," he was, as we have stated, a member of Alleyn's company, acting at the Rose on the Bankside, and perhaps at the Theatre in Shoreditch. The Globe was not then constructed, so that the Lord Chamberlain's players performed at the Blackfriars theatre in the winter, and probably at the Curtain in the summer, shares in which a few of the actors retained till their death, sometime after the Globe had been opened. We have no means of knowing precisely how long after 1592 Kemp continued with Alleyn and his associates, but he had rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players in or before 1596, when his name (again following that of Shakespeare) is found in a petition to the Privy Council in favour of the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars playhouse.[1]

In the meanwhile, Kemp seems to have availed himself of his popularity by the publication of several pieces then known by the name of "Jigs." This species of humorous theatrical performance consisted, as formerly observed, of singing, dancing, and music, and a specimen by Tarlton has come down to our day in manuscript, and is inserted in the introduction to one of the publications of the Shakespeare

usual way of spelling the name was Tarleton, and perhaps it ought to have been followed.

[1] See vol. i., p. cliv., of Collier's Shakespeare; and p. 18 of the present volume.

Society.[1] From this relic we may judge in some degree of the rest; and there can be no doubt that drollery and satire were intermixed in them with a great deal of low buffoonery, and that they sometimes required the assistance of other performers. We have traces of three "jigs" in connection with Kemp's name, but how far he was concerned in the authorship of them, it would most likely be impossible to determine, had any of them reached our day: as it is, we only find mention of them in the registers of the Stationers' Company, when they were entered with a view to publication. That one of them was actually printed we have contemporary evidence in the collection of Epigrams and Satires published anonymously (but unquestionably by Edward Guilpin) under the title of "Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth," 8vo., 1598, where we are informed that "Kemp's Jig" was then sung in the open streets:—

> But, oh, purgation! yon rotten-throated slaves,
> Engarlanded with coney-catching knaves,
> Whores, bedles, bawdes, and sergents, filthily
> Chaunt Kemp's Jigge, or the Burgonian's tragedy.[2]

No clue is elsewhere given to lead us to a knowledge of the particular jig by Kemp here alluded to; but, as we have already

[1] "Tarlton's Jests, and News out of Purgatory," edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c., p. xx. The jig is entitled "Tarlton's Jigge of a horse-loade of Fools."

[2] In the year after the appearance of "Skialetheia," Marston published his "Scourge of Villanie," and there also "Kemp's Jig" is spoken of, but not as a song or ballad, but as a dance.

> "A hall! a hall!
> Roome for the spheres: the orbes celestiall
> Will *daunce* Kempes Jigge."

See Mr. Halliwell's "MS. Rarities of Cambridge," p. 8, for an account of the preservation of the music of "Kemp's Jigs," although the notes are unfortunately not accompanied by words.

mentioned, there are traces of three in association with his name, and they stand thus in the only extant record of their existence—the books of the Stationers' Company. The first memorandum shows that two other parts of the jig had been written, acted, and perhaps printed, but no notice of them is to be found in the registers.

28 December, 1591, Thomas Gosson, entred for his copie, under thand of Mr. Watkins, the Thirde and last parte of Kempe's Jigge, soe yt appertayne not to anie other..... vj^{d}.

ii^{do} die Maij, 1595, William Blackwall, enterd for his copie under Mr. Warden Binges hande, a ballad of Mr. Kempe's Newe Jigge of the Kitchen stuffe Woman ..... vj^{d}.

21 October, 1595, Tho. Gosson, entred for his copie under thande of the Wardens, a ballad called Kempe's new Jygge betwixt a souldior, and a miser, and Sym the clown..... vj^{d}.[1]

The last entry proves, if proof were wanting, that three performers were sometimes required for a jig, but the only extant specimen was evidently delivered by Tarlton alone, who sang it, and accompanied himself at intervals on his pipe and tabor. The names of Thomas Gosson and William Blackwall were those of the booksellers, who, having procured copies of the productions, wished to secure the right of publishing them; but we may reasonably doubt, as in the case of Phillips (p. 82), whether they were composed or only acted by Kemp, and whether he was privy to, or obtained any advantage by, their publication. As far as we can judge, jigs were introduced by comic actors to relieve the weight of a performance, and to dismiss the spectators cheerfully. Ben Jonson, in "Every Man out of his Humour," acted in 1599, speaks of "a jig after a play," and in "Jack Drum's Entertainment," printed in 1601, we are told that it was then customary "to call for a jig after the play was done."

[1] We derive these memoranda, often misquoted by others, from the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to Kemp's "Nine Days' Wonder," p. xx.

We are not disposed to impute any high literary attainments to Kemp, and it is very evident that the author of "The Return from Parnassus," of which we shall say more presently, meant to cast some ridicule upon his ignorance, when he made him pronounce an opinion in his own person that "Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter." We have therefore no hesitation in concurring with the Rev. Mr. Dyce that Kemp was not the author of "A dutiful Invective against the most haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington," 4to., 1587. Though we agree in the result, we do not agree in the reasoning by which it is supported; for when Mr. Dyce urges that Kemp's word is to be taken, that his "Nine Days' Wonder" was "the first pamphlet" he had ever "offered to the press," the reverend gentleman forgets the facts, to which he himself adverted, relating to the publication of Kemp's three "jigs" in 1591 and 1595. It is very possible, however, that Kemp was not concerned in the temporary drolleries issued under his name, excepting as the performer of them. The "Dutiful Invective" was assuredly not his; and in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," iii., 28, Ritson's information upon the point was too hastily adopted. It is not unlikely, however, that Kemp's name was then improperly made use of on account of its popularity.

The Stationers' books do not state at what theatre Kemp's "jigs" were performed; but, as already observed, it is ascertained that he had returned to his old quarters as a member of the company called the Lord Chamberlain's players, in 1596. He seems to have continued to act with them, at all events, until after the production of "Much Ado about Nothing," as we suppose about 1599, and how much longer is doubtful: we also know nothing, excepting by conjecture, of the cause of his joining the rival association under Alleyn,

who, in conjunction with Henslowe and others, had built the Fortune theatre in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in the very commencement of the seventeenth century, and who possibly, and for the sake of giving attraction to the house, induced Kemp to abandon his old associates at the Globe and Blackfriars. Certain it is that he was a member of the company which acted under the patronage of the Earl of Nottingham until the accession of James I., when they became the players of Prince Henry; and although we do not meet with Kemp's name in any extant list of the association, it occurs several times in Henslowe's Diary, relating mainly to the transactions of the Earl of Nottingham's players, under the dates of March, August, and September, 1602. The following extracts prove incontestibly that Kemp was in Henslowe's pay and employment, as an actor, at that period.

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 10 of Marche, 1602, in redy monye, twentye shellinges for his necessary usses, the some of ..... xx^{s}. (*Diary*, p. 215.)

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 22 of Auguste, 1602, to bye buckram to macke a payer of gyents hosse, the some of ..... v^{s}. (p. 237.)

Lent unto the company the 3 of Septembr, 1602, to bye a sewte for Wm. Kempe, the some of ..... xxx^{s}. (p. 238.)

Pd unto your tyerman for mackinge of Wm. Kempes sewt, and the boyes, the 4 of septembr, 1602, some of ..... viij^{s} 8^{d}. (p. 239.)

Here we see Kemp spoken of and treated by the old manager like any ordinary member of the company: money was advanced to him, another sum was paid to him that he might obtain materials for one of the properties, a third amount was lent to the company to purchase a suit for him, and a fourth was delivered to the tireman, who had charge of the apparel of the actors, in order that Kemp and his boy might be furnished with dresses adapted to the particular characters they were to perform.

We have already adverted to Kemp's talent for and

habit of extemporizing, taking license, in the words of old Letoy—

> to add unto
> Your parts your own free fancy, and sometimes
> To alter or diminish what the writer
> With care and skill compos'd; and when you are
> To speak to your co-actors in the scene,
> You hold interlocutions with the audience.

Nobody can fail to recollect that this is precisely the fault imputed by Shakespeare, in a well known passage of his "Hamlet," to actors of Kemp's description: "Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them; for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be considered: that's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it." These words read as if they had been written actually with an eye to Kemp, and it is possible that our great dramatist had a special and personal reference to him. We are to bear in mind that "Hamlet" was probably not composed until "the winter of 1601, or the spring of 1602;"[1] and it was about this date, according to the quotations from Henslowe's "Diary," that Kemp went over from the Lord Chamberlain's to Lord Nottingham's players, and of course did his best to promote the success of a competing association. It would, therefore, not be surprising if, besides laying down a general axiom as to the abuse introduced by the performers of the parts of clowns, Shakespeare had designed a particular allusion to Kemp.

It is evident that Kemp continued a member of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players when "The Return from Parnassus" was written, in which he and Burbadge are employed to ascertain the merits of two university students, the

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, vol. vii., p. 190.

one in comic, and the other in tragic acting. This play, as we observed on p. 27, was not printed until 1606, at least no earlier edition has yet been found;[1] but it is quite clear that it was acted while Queen Elizabeth was on the throne, and we may bring its date even to a nearer point, for Nash is spoken of in it as dead, and it is ascertained, in the Introduction to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of "Pierce Penniless's Supplication," (p. xxxi) that its author had expired before 1601. We may conclude, therefore, that "The Return from Parnassus" was written between the date when Kemp rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players, and the death of Nash.[2] In act iv., sc. 5, Burbadge and Kemp speak of engaging some of the Cambridge scholars "at a low rate," to perform in the association to which the two actors then belonged, and while Burbadge was introduced as the representative of high tragedy, Kemp was brought forward as a sort of impersonation of low comedy. After Philomusus and Studioso have entered, the latter addresses Kemp, and alludes to an important incident of his life, of which we shall say more hereafter.

"*Studioso.* God save you, M. Kempe: welcome, M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes.[3]

[1] A drama preliminary to "The Return from Parnassus," probably called "The Pilgrimage to Parnassus," certainly once existed, and has been lost. In the Prologue to "The Return from Parnassus," it is said—

"In scholars' fortunes, twice forlorn and dead,
Twice hath our weary pen erst laboured,
Making them Pilgrims in Parnassus' hill,
Then penning their Return with ruder quill."

[2] Bodenham's "Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses," is criticised in act i., sc. 2, and that work bears date in 1600.

[3] Philomusus just before has asked him, "What, M. Kempe! how doth the Emperor of Germany?" Which refers either to a dancing expedition he had made into Germany, or possibly to his performance in some company of English players who had visited that part of the Con-

Kemp. Well, you merry knaves, you may come to the honour of it one day. Is it not better to make a fool of the world, as I have done, than to be fooled of the world, as you scholars are?"

And thence he proceeds to advert to the profitableness of acting, and to the reputations which he and Burbadge had acquired by it. Philomusus admits that Kemp is "very famous," not only for his performances on the stage, but for his "works in print," referring of course to his jigs of 1591 and 1595, and perhaps to his "Nine Days' Wonder," which came out with the date of 1600 upon the title-page.[1] Burbadge then takes Studioso in hand, to ascertain how well he can perform the part of Jeronimo in "The Spanish Tragedy;" while Kemp proceeds to show Philomusus practically how he is to act the part of "a foolish mayor or a foolish justice of peace."[2] It is not necessary to quote the speech Kemp puts into the mouth of the silly magistrate, because the play is printed in Hawkins's "Origin of the English Drama," vol. iii., p. 199, and the passage is quoted at length in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to the "Nine Days' Wonder."

The same learned writer considers the words "Welcome,

tinent. We know from Heywood's "Apology for Actors," 1612, and other sources (see "The Alleyn Papers," p. 19), that associations of English players had exhibited in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Hereafter we shall advert to another authority, showing that Kemp had been in Germany.

[1] If Philomusus refer to the "Nine Days' Wonder," it establishes, of course, that "The Return from Parnassus" was written after its appearance.

[2] These are the words which are taken by Malone to prove that Kemp was the representative of Justice Shallow: he says, "From the following passage *we may conclude* that Kemp was the original Justice Shallow." (Shakspeare by Boswell, xvii., 114.) To us they do not seem by any means strong enough to support even an inference of the kind. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, as we think unwarily, follows the dictum of Malone.

M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes," only "a sportive allusion to his journey to Norwich." There does not seem much plausibility in this supposition, because we do not perceive the immediate connection between Norwich and the Alps; and we can prove, moreover (facts with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce was not acquainted), that Kemp was in France, Germany, and Italy: he danced a Morris into France, and undertook a journey into Italy, under an engagement to return within a certain number of days.[1]

Of his Morris-dance to Norwich Kemp published an account on his return, and popular as the work must have been, only a single copy of it has been preserved;[2] but the wood-cut upon the title-page, representing Kemp dancing with bells on his legs, and in a sort of brocaded jacket and scarf, attended by Thomas Slye, who acted as his taborer (and who was, perhaps, related to William Slye, the actor in Shakespeare's plays), may be seen at the top of several ballads, as a not very appropriate ornament. After it had been used for the "Nine Days' Wonder," it seems to have come into the hands of Thomas Symcocke, the prolific publisher of versified broadsides, and he and his assigns employed it accordingly. The narra-

[1] It was usual for persons making expeditions of this sort to lay wagers, taking odds upon the accomplishment of the task. Kemp did so, even when he undertook to dance a Morris to Norwich; and he tells us, near the end of his "Nine Days' Wonder," that some of the persons, with whom he "put out money" on the event, had not paid him when he won: "True it is (he states) I put out some money to have three-fold gaine at my returne: some that love me, regard my paines and respect their promise, have sent home the treble worth: some other at first sight have paide me, if I came to seeke them: others I cannot see, nor wil they willingly be found, and these are the greater number."

[2] Perhaps on the very account of its popularity, and in consequence of the number of destroying hands through which the small tract passed: for this reason much, if not most, of the popular literature of early times has not come down to our own.

tive of the trip to Norwich, which purports to have been written by Kemp "to satisfy his friends," was printed in 4to., and bears the following title:—

"Kemps nine daies wonder.[1] Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines, and kinde entertainment of William Kemp betweene London and that Citty in his late Morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note, to reproove the slaunders spred of him; many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends. London Printed by E. A., for Nicholas Ling, and are to be solde at his shop at the west doore of Saint Paules Church 1600."

This very rare performance, intrinsically of little value, and probably put together by some more practised penman than Kemp, having been recently reprinted by the Camden Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. A. Dyce, it is not necessary to go into any detail regarding it. It shows that Kemp took nine days to complete his fatiguing and eccentric journey, and hence the title of his tract. It narrates with some humour and vivacity all his principal adventures on the road; but the most curious portion is "Kemp's humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers and their coherents," which is placed at the end, and which contains some droll and dark allusions to ephemeral and popular writers of the day. Thomas Deloney, who, according to this authority, was then dead, is mentioned by name;[2] but the references to living authors of the same class, such perhaps as

[1] Before he undertook this journey to Norwich, Kemp must have obtained celebrity for undertakings of the kind: otherwise there would have been no point in Carlo Buffone's exclamation in "Every Man out of his Humour" (first acted at the Globe in the summer of 1599), when he says, "Would I had one of Kemp's old shoes to throw after you!"

[2] The following notice of Deloney, from Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, is worth quoting.

"Heilding Dicke (this our ages Albumazar) is a temporist, that hath

Richard Johnson,[1] Anthony Munday,[2] and the author of "the miserable stolen story of Macdool, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat," are often so obscure and indistinct, that it is impossible to fix the allusion decisively. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is probably in error about Munday (who, he does not seem to

faith enough for all religions, even as Thomas Deloney, the balleting silke-weaver, hath rime enough for all myracles, and wit to make a *Garland of good will* more than the premisses, with an epistle of Momus and Zoylus; whereas his Muse, from the first peeping foorth, hath stood at livery at an ale-house wispe, never exceeding a penny quart, day nor night, and this deare yeare, together with the silencing of his looms, scarce that, he being constrained to betake him to carded ale: whence it proceedeth that since *Candlemas*, or his jigge *John for the King*, not one merrie dittie will come from him, but *The Thunder-bolt against Swearers, Repent, England, repent*, and *The Strange Judgements of God*."

In the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we meet with the entry of baptism of Deloney's son Richard, which is quite a new fact:—

"Christened: Richard Delonie, sonne of Thomas Delonie, silk-weaver, 16 October, 1586."

It may be doubted whether the following, from the same registers, do not refer to the death of the same child, although the Christian name of the father seems mistaken:—

"Buryed: Richard Delonie, sonne of John Delonie, silk-weaver, 21 Dec., 1586."

[1] Richard Johnson, the ballad-writer, is not to be confounded with William Johnson, the player, first a member of Lord Leicester's company in 1574, regarding whom we find the following singular entry among the christenings in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate:—

"Comedia, base-borne daughter of Alice Bowker, and, as she saithe, the father's name is William Johnson, one of the Queen's plaiers. 10 Feb., 1586."

The child died in 1593, and its burial is thus recorded:—

"Comedia, daughter of William Johnson, player. 3 March, 1592."

[2] Anthony Munday, the actor and author, was an inhabitant of the parish of Cripplegate, and in the registers of St. Giles's church we meet

be aware, was an actor as well as a dramatist), and he has missed, at the close, a tolerably clear and severe stroke at Henry Chettle, where Kemp speaks of him as the author of a play relating to "the Prince of the burning crown:" a burning crown, forced on the head of a prince, forms an important incident in Chettle's tragedy of "Hoffman," which was not printed until 1631, although written some thirty years earlier.

Not far from the end of his "Nine Days' Wonder," and in the address to the ballad-makers above referred to, occurs this passage:—

"These are by these presents to certify unto your block-head-ships, that I, William Kemp, ... am shortly, God willing, to set forward, as merrily as I may, whither I myself know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye to employ not your little wits in certifying to the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint."

The Reverend Editor of the reprint of the work remarks inadvertently upon this quotation, that "no record of this second feat has come down to us;" and yet very shortly afterwards he produces a play, printed in 1607, and written some

with the following entries regarding his children; they are novel in his biography:—

"Christened: Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Antoyne Mundaye, gent. 28th June, 1584.

"Christened: Roase Mounday, daughter of Antonye Moundaye, gent. 17 Oct., 1585. [Buried 19 Jan., 1585.]

"Christened: Priscilla Munday, daughter of Antony Mundaye, gent. 9 Jan., 1586.

"Christened: Richard Mundye, sonne of Antonye Mondye, gentleman. 27 Jan., 1587.

"Christened: Anne, daughter of Antonye Munday, gent. 5 Sept., 1589."

Until now we knew not the "local habitation" of Anthony Monday, only his "name."

years before, showing distinctly that Kemp was in Venice with Sir Anthony Shirley. We allude to "The Travels of the three English Brothers," &c., by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins.[1] The scene of what follows is laid in Venice.

Enter Servant.

Serv. Sir, here's an Englishman desires access to you.

Sir Ant. An Englishman! What's his name?

Serv. He calls himself Kemp.

Sir Ant. Kemp! bid him come in.

Enter Kemp.

Welcome, honest Will! and how doth all thy fellows in England?

Kemp. Why, like good fellows, when they have no money, live upon credit."

Hence Sir Anthony Shirley proceeds to ask Kemp what new plays had been brought out in London; and Kemp mentions a piece called "England's Joy."[2] An "Italian Harlequin" being announced, he offers to get up an extemporal play, or *commedia al improviso*; and Kemp (who is accompanied by his boy, or apprentice) agrees, at the instance of Sir Anthony, to assist in the performance of it, observing, "I am somewhat hard of study, and like your honour, but if they will invent

[1] Wilkins was also author of "The Miseries of Inforced Marriage," 1607, and in vol. v. of Dodsley's Old Plays. As confessedly nothing is known regarding him, we are happy to be able to furnish the date of his death, four years before any dramatic work from his pen came from the press: it is from the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch:—

"1603. George Wilkins, the poet, was buried the same day [i.e., 19th August], Halliwell Street."

Halliwell, or Holywell Street, was the place of his residence; and as "the plague" was raging furiously in the summer and autumn of 1603, he probably died of it.

[2] For an account of this production, which was not properly a play, see "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," iii., 405.

any extemporal merriment, I'll put out the small sacke of wit I ha' left in venture with them." This is followed, after Sir Anthony has withdrawn, by a long, coarse scene, which we omit, as it does not in any way contribute to our knowledge of Kemp's conduct or character. All that the extract is valuable for is to prove that, which Mr. Dyce does not seem aware it establishes, viz., that the incident was founded on fact, and that Kemp was in Venice very early in the seventeenth century.

That he was also in Rome about the same period, we are able to show by other evidence, though we have no reason to think he proceeded as far as Jerusalem, the other city he mentions in the passage we have quoted from his "Nine Days' Wonder." In the first place, unless Kemp had been in Rome, what can be the meaning of the fourth line in the following extract from a medley-ballad, printed in black letter, either at the time he was absent or very shortly afterwards, "for the assignes of Thomas Symcocke," who was the stationer in possession of the woodcut of Kemp dancing his Morris to Norwich? it is entitled "An excellent new Medley," and it consists of scraps of ballads strung together, and generally ridiculous (and intended to be so) from their want of connection.

Diana and her darlings deere,
The Dutchmen ply the double beere;
Boys, ring the bells, and make good cheere,
When Kempe returnes from Rome.
O man! what meanes thy heavie looke?
Is Will not in his mistris' booke?
Sir Rowland for a refuge tooke
Horne Castle."

It is to his journey to Rome that William Rowley refers in his "Search for Money," 1609, 4to., when, in the Address "to all those that lack money," he says, "Yee have beene either eare, or eye witnesses, or both, to many madde voiages

made of late yeares, both by sea and land, as *the travell to Rome with the return in certain daies*, the wild morrise to Norrige, the fellowes going back-ward to Barwick,[1] another hopping from Yorke to London, and the transforming of the top of Paule's into a stable." We may conclude, therefore, that when Kemp started for Rome he undertook to be back in a certain time, and laid wagers, with large odds in his favour, to that effect, as indeed we have seen on his own authority he had done with regard to his Morris-dance to Norwich. He, doubtless, went through France into Italy; and of his taking France in his way we find mention in Weelkes's "Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites for three Voices," a musical work printed in 1608, where the subsequent words accompany the notes of a song.

Since Robin Hood, maid Marian,
And little John, are gone a,
The hobby horse was quite forgot,
When Kempe did dance alone a.
He did labour after the tabor
For to dance: *then into France*
He took pains
To skip it.
In hopes of gains
He will trip it
On the toe.

But Mr. Halliwell, in the notes to the Shakespeare Society's edition of the "Coventry Plays," has adduced an irrefragable

[1] This feat of going backwards to Berwick, as well as Kemp's Morris to Norwich, are both mentioned by Ben Jonson in a poem, inserted on p. 814 of the folio edition of his Works in 1616.

"Or him that backward went to Berwicke, or which
Did dance the famous Morrisse unto Norwich."

This passage does not appear to have occurred to the Rev. Mr. Dyce among the other authorities he cites (Introd. to the "Nine Days' Wonder," p. ix), on the subject of Kemp's Morris-dance.

piece of evidence that Kemp was in Rome, and it gives the very day of the month when he returned.[1] This alone would be sufficient to confute the statement, that "no record of this second feat has come down to us, and we may conclude that it was never accomplished." Mr. Halliwell makes the following quotation from MS. Sloane, 392, fol. 401:—

1601. September 2. Kemp, mimus quidam, *qui peregrationem quandam in Germaniam, et Italiam, instituerat*, per multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus: multa refert de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romæ (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat.

Here we see that Kemp had not only been in Italy, but, as we before noticed, in Germany, and (according to the suggestion of Mr. Halliwell) he was probably the first to convey to England the news regarding the proceedings of Shirley in Persia. The arrival of Kemp in London on this account, if on no other, must have created a considerable sensation.

It was after his return from these foreign expeditions that we find Kempe uniting his exertions with those of Alleyn and his fellow actors, principally at the Fortune theatre in Cripplegate, but sometimes at the Rose, on the Bankside, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Globe, to the company performing at which last he had previously been attached.

There can be little doubt that at an earlier date, and perhaps at the period to which we are now referring, Kemp lived in Southwark. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's contain the names "William Kemp" not unfrequently, but still we cannot be sure that the actor was intended, because in these curious records the occupation of the parties is never

[1] Mr. Halliwell therefore very justly considers, that the scene in "The Travailes of the Three English Brothers" was founded on fact. He also cites, in the same place, the song from Weelkes's "Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites," 1608, without being aware, perhaps, that it had been previously printed in the Introduction to the re-publication of Rowley's "Search for Money." See *Ludus Coventriæ*, p. 410.

inserted. In 1595, 1596, 1598, and 1599, Kemp (presuming it was he) lived in a place called Samson's Rents: in 1602 he was in "Langley's New Rents;" and we are to recollect that Langley was connected in some way with the company under Edward Alleyn (Henslowe's "Diary," p. 134). What renders it still more probable that our actor was intended is the addition of a note, in the token-book of 1605, that his residence was "near the playhouse," though which playhouse was meant is not specified. In that year he was again acting at the Blackfriars and Globe.

It has been remarked, with apparent surprise, that the name of William Kemp is not found with those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, Phillipps, Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armyn, and Cowley, in the license to his player, granted by King James on the 17th May, 1603.[1] According to our present knowledge, it would have been extraordinary to have found Kemp included in the instrument, because there is every reason to suppose that he was then a member of the rival association under Henslowe and Alleyn: we are sure that he was so in the autumn of 1602, and the mere fact of the absence of his distinguished name, in the list of the King's actors in the spring of 1603, shows sufficiently that he continued with the players of Prince Henry at the Fortune. Chalmers was disposed to think that Kemp died very soon after 1603, because in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, he found the following entry of the death of a person of the common name of William Kemp—"1603. November 2. William Kempe, a man;"[2] but he himself proves that another William Kemp was married at St. Bartholomew the Less, not far from the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606.[3] The truth is, that William

[1] Introduction to the Camden Society's reprint of "Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder," p. ix.

[2] "Apology for the Believers," p. 458, note *b*.

[3] John Underwood, another actor in Shakespeare's plays, though of inferior note, lived and died in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less,

Kemp, the actor, was alive in 1605, and, with Armyn and other players at the Blackfriars, was the object of a complaint to the Privy Council, on the part of the authorities of the city of London, for bringing some of the aldermen derogatorily upon the stage: the memorandum upon this point, derived from the civic archives, runs as follows:—

Lenard Haliday, Maior, 1605.

Whereas Kempe, Armyn, and others, plaiers at the Blacke Fryers, have again not forborne to bring upon their stage one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the City of London, to their great scandall and to the lessening of their authority, the Lords of the right honorable the Privy Counsell are besought to call the said Players before them, and to enquire into the same, that order may be taken to remedy the abuse, either by putting down or removing the said theatre.

The corporation of London had been from the first strongly opposed to the opening and continuance of a theatre in the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, and lost no opportunity of pointing out the objections to, and the inconveniences resulting from it. What new ground of hostility had been afforded to the Lord Mayor and aldermen in this instance we have no means of deciding, but, as we have remarked, (p. 42) shortly before this date Shakespeare quitted the stage, and withdrew from the active control and immediate superintendence of the company: the consequence apparently was, that the other members of the association ran into various offences, not merely against the magnates of the metropolis, but against foreign princes, and even against King James himself, whose servants he had two years before permitted them to call themselves.

We consider it quite certain, therefore, that Kemp was still living in 1605, and it is equally clear that, prior to that year, he had rejoined the King's players: he must have done so

as appears by his will, dated 4th October, 1624. See the memoir of him hereafter in this volume.

after May, 1603, but at what precise date, previous to the remonstrance of the Lord Mayor, &c., above cited, no means of knowledge have occurred to us. The Rev. Mr. Dyce did not advert to this document when he expressed the inclination of his mind, that Chalmers's extract from the register of St. Saviour's parish related to William Kemp, the subject of our memoir.[1] Besides, we have proved from the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, that a William Kemp was living "near the playhouse" in 1605. It is quite as likely, also, that an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, relating to the baptism of "George, son of William Kemp," in October, 1605, applies to him, as that the record merely of the burial of "William Kemp, a man," in Southwark, should relate to him, especially as it was usual in that parish to designate the occupation of the parties, when they were players: if the entry there had related to our William Kemp, it would in all probability have run, not "William Kemp, a man," but "William Kemp, player." We have no doubt, therefore, that Kemp, the actor, was living in the autumn of 1605.

We have been at much pains to search the registers of the various parishes in which any of our early theatres were situated, but we have found no entry to prove where, or at what precise time, Kemp expired. The nearest point at which we can arrive is, that he was dead before Dekker wrote his "Gull's Hornbook," which was printed in 1609: we there read as follows: "Tush! tush! Tarleton, Kemp, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that now come drawling behinde them, never plaid the clownes more naturally then the arrantest sot of you all." This passage was cited by Malone,[2] and to it may be added the testimony of Thomas Heywood, who in his "Apology for

[1] If identity of names would prove anything, Kemp died in 1589. We meet with the following entry in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

"Buried. William Kempe, servant with William Holliday. 15th April, 1589."

[2] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 199.

Actors," 1612, includes Kemp among the comic performers he had seen and known, but who were then no more: "All the right," says he, "I can do them is but this, that *though they be dead*, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many."[1] We conclude with a tribute from the pen of Richard Brathwayte, published in 1618, in a work he entitled "Remains after Death"—

UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS EPITAPH.

Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy, to see
Thy safe returne moriscoed lustily!
But out, alasse! how soone's thy morice done!
When pipe and taber, all thy friends be gone,
And leave thee now to dance the second part
With feeble nature, not with nimble art:
Then all thy triumphs, fraught with strains of mirth,
Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth.
Shall be? they are. Thou'st danc'd thee out of breath,
And now must make thy parting dance with Death.

We are not aware that any other poet left behind him a memorial relating to Kemp's character or abilities.

1 Apology for Actors, Sig. E, 2 b of the original edition, and p. 43 of the reprint by the Shakespeare Society.

THOMAS POPE.

From what part of the kingdom Thomas Pope[1] came we have no information, but his mother's name was Agnes Webbe, and Agnes and Webbe were names of persons connected with Stratford-upon-Avon and its vicinity. In 1560 Agnes Arden (whose maiden-name was Agnes Webbe), widow, granted a lease of forty years to Alexander Webbe of two houses and a cottage in Smitterfield (three miles from Stratford) in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare and two others.[2] This fact may warrant a suspicion that Pope, like Shakespeare, Burbage, Heminge, Tooley, Green, and other eminent actors of the time, originally came from Warwickshire: his mother was alive at the time of his death, as well as his two brothers, John and William Pope.

The first time we hear of him is prior to 1588, when he acted Arbactus in Tarlton's play of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" "To them Arbactus, Mr. Pope—to him, Will, fool." In this relic he is invariably called "Mr. Pope," a distinction that belongs also to Phillips and to Bryan.[3] He seems to have been a comic performer, and to

[1] The name is spelt Poope in the list of actors in the folio of 1623, but elsewhere the orthography is invariably Pope.

[2] Collier's Shakespeare, i., lxii.

[3] We may infer, perhaps, that at this time he was an actor at the Curtain, in which theatre he owned shares to the last. There is some reason to suppose that in 1593 he belonged to the same company as Edward Alleyn, who, writing to his wife on 1st August of that year, says, "I have sent you by this bearer, Thomas Pope's kinsman, my white waistcoat, because it is a trouble to me to carry it: receive it with this letter, and

have filled the parts of rustic clowns. Samuel Rowlands published his "Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vein" in 1600, and in Satire iv. he speaks of Pope and Singer as then both alive; but as they were dead before 1611, when the work was reprinted, he rather clumsily altered the passage to the past tense as follows:—

> What meant Singer, then,
> And Pope, the clown, to speak so boorish, when
> They counterfeit the clowns upon the stage,
> Since country fellows grow in this same age
> To be so quaint in their new printed speech,
> That cloth will now compare with velvet breech?

The last line, of course, refers to Robert Greene's celebrated "Contention between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches," first printed in 1592. In 1611, when Rowlands published the new edition of his "Letting of Humours Blood," &c., Pope had been dead about eight years.

His eminence in the profession cannot be doubted. In 1596 his name stands at the head of the eight petitioners to the Privy Council for the repair of the Blackfriars theatre:[1] in 1599 he and John Heminge represented the company of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received £30 for the performance of three plays at court;[2] and it seems more than probable that Pope ceased to act soon afterwards, although he continued connected with three theatres to the day of his death. His name is not included in the list of the King's players in May, 1603, as from his eminence it must unquestionably have been, if he had then remained upon the stage. He had a character in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his

lay it up for me till I come."—"Memoirs of Alleyn," p. 26. If this were so, Pope had certainly become one of the Lord Chamberlain's players in 1596.

[1] See p. 18 of this volume.

[2] Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," Introd., p. xxxii.

Humour" in 1598," and in the same dramatist's "Every Man out of his Humour" in 1599, but we recollect no other plays with which his name is connected. What parts were allotted to him in any of the dramas of Shakespeare, we can only speculate from the fact that, at all events late in his career, he was accustomed to represent rustics.

Mr. Cunningham conjectures that Pope sold his interest in the Blackfriars theatre to Shakespeare; and as he does not mention it in his will, we may be tolerably certain that he had, in some way, disposed of his shares in that undertaking: the playhouses in which he was concerned in 1603 were the Curtain in Shoreditch, and the Globe and Rose on Bankside. In what way he was connected with the Rose is not clear, and it depends upon the following not very intelligible passage in the "Diary" of Philip Henslowe: we do not adhere to the old manager's ignorant and arbitrary orthography.

"Memorandum, that on the 25th of June, 1603, I talked with Mr. Pope, at the scrivener's shop where he lives, concerning the taking of the lease of the Little Rose, and he showed me a writing betwixt the parish and himself, which was to pay twenty pound a year rent, and to bestow a hundred marks upon building, which I said I would rather pull down the playhouse than I would do so, and he bade me do, and said he gave me leave, and would bear me out, for it was in him to do it."[1]

Hence we may infer, perhaps, that the ground on which the Rose theatre stood belonged to the parish of St. Saviour's, and that Pope had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining, a lease of it at a rent of £20 a year: Henslowe, as owner of the theatre which stood upon it, was required to lay out one hundred marks upon building, which he so strongly objected to do, that he told Pope he would rather pull down the playhouse; and Pope was contented that he should do so, if he

[1] Henslowe's "Diary," printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 235.

liked it, and promised to bear him harmless. Pope did not care, as far as he was concerned, whether the Rose were or were not pulled down, because other houses might be built upon the ground, and Henslowe, not long before, had opened the Fortune theatre in a different part of the town.[1] By a previous part of Henslowe's "Diary" we find, that some dispute had arisen, in 1598, between Pope and Borne (or Bird), an actor in the company of the Earl of Nottingham's players, and that the old manager had lent Borne ten shillings, "to follow the suit" he had commenced.[2]

The conversation between Pope and Henslowe respecting the Rose took place on the 25th June, 1603, at the scrivener's shop where Pope lived, who was no doubt the same scrivener, Bazil Nicholl, who was appointed one of the overseers of his will. The lease of the house belonged to Pope, and he bequeathed it, on certain conditions, to Susan Gasquine; but it is somewhat singular that he should say nothing of his interest in the ground on which the Rose stood: perhaps the writing that he showed Henslowe, between him and the parish, respecting a lease of it, was not executed, and that the agreement, after what Henslowe had declared, came to nothing.

The token-books of St. Saviour's parish prove that Pope had been an inhabitant of Southwark as early as 1593, before the Globe was built: in that year he lived in what were called Blamer's Rents; but in 1595 he had removed to Wrench's Rents,[3] and in the next year we find him in "Mr. Langley's

[1] Henslowe was under an engagement, either express or implied, to pull down the Rose when he opened the Fortune; and one of the reasons he gave to the public authorities for building the Fortune was, that the Rose was in such a state of decay, that it could not be longer used as a playhouse.

[2] Henslowe's "Diary," p. 109.

[3] John Wrench, probably the owner of the property, was one of Pope's executors, and one of the witnesses to his will.

New Rents," where he subsequently remained, probably till his death: he was there in 1598, 1600, and 1602, the token-books of those years having been preserved. According to a note in the token-book of 1602, Pope must have bought, or built, a house next to that in which he himself resided: it runs thus—"Next unto Pope's new one: Mayster Pope hathe nowe both houses in Mayster Langlies Rents."[1]

All that Malone knew about Pope was expressed in these terms: "This actor likewise performed the part of a clown. He died before the year 1600." To prove that he died "before the year 1600," he refers to Heywood's "Apology for Actors," which was printed in 1612, and only shows that Pope was then dead. The fact is, as Chalmers established, that Pope lived only till 1604, and made his will about a month after his conversation with Henslowe, for it bears date on the 22nd July, 1603. He was then, as the instrument states, "in good and perfect health," and the cause of his death, in February following, is no where recorded.

We may conclude, from the wording of the will, that Pope was never married;[2] but he left considerable property and money to Susan Gasquine, "whom he had brought up ever since she was born," and to "Mary Clarke, alias Wood:" to the latter, and to Thomas Bromley, "who was heretofore

[1] By Pope's will it should seem that at his death he was the owner of three adjoining houses in Langley's Rents: he lived in the centre one himself, and his tenant to the east was John Moden, and to the west John Holland. The ground on which the houses stood he held upon lease, but for what term of years is not stated. An actor of the name of J. Holland had performed with Pope in "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" he was most likely Pope's tenant.

[2] According to the registers of St. Saviour's, a Thomas Pope was married to Frances Gardiner on 21st October, 1607: this was perhaps the son of one of our actor's brothers, who do not seem to have been in any way connected with the stage. By the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, it appears that John Pope lived in that parish.

baptised in the parish of St. Andrew, Undershaft," he bequeathed his shares in the Curtain and Globe theatres. He left his mother, and his two brothers, John and William Pope, specific legacies of £20 each, and besides, made them residuary legatees. It is impossible from the terms of the will (which we subjoin) to ascertain how much Thomas Pope died worth; but he must have been in easy circumstances, and directed, among other things, that £20 should be laid out upon his funeral expenses, and a monument in the church of St. Saviour's Southwark. If such a monument were erected, it is not now to be found. Perhaps, as is suggested in a note on p. 19, Pope died in the country.

In the name of God, Amen, the two and twenty of July, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and three, and the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James: I, Thomas Pope, of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, being at this present in good and perfect health, laude and praise be given to the Almighty God therefore, do make, ordain and declare this my prescnt testament and last will in manner and form following; that is to say: first and principally, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker, Saviour, and Redeemer, hoping and assuredly believing to be saved through the merits, death, and passion, of my Saviour, Jesus Christ, and to enjoy eternal blessedness in the kingdom of Heaven; and my body I commit to the earth to be buried in Christian burial, in the church called St. Saviour's, where I now dwell; and I give towards the setting up of some monument on me in the said church, and my funeral, twenty pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to the poor of the liberty where now I dwell, three pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath unto Suzan Gasquine, whom I have brought up ever since she was born, the sum of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, and all my household stuff, my plate only excepted.

Item, I will that the said Suzan Gasquine shall have the use and occupation of all that house or tenement wherein I now dwell, in the parish of St. Saviour's aforesaid, during her natural life, if the lease and term of years which I have in the same shall so long continue and endure, so

as the said Suzan, or her assigns, do pay the one half of the rent, reserved by the lease to me, thereof from time to time, and at such time as is limited in and by the same lease, amongst others, made by Francis Langley Drax, deceased, and do also perform such covenants touching the said tenement as are to be done by force of the said lease: and if the said Suzan shall happen to die before the expiration of the said term, then I will that my brother, John Pope, shall have the use and occupation of the said tenement during the residue, which, at the time of the decease of the said Suzan, shall be to come and unexpired of the said term, he doing for the same and paying from thenceforth as the said Suzan should or ought to have done, if she had lived to the full end of the said term.

Item, I will and bequeath unto my brother, John Pope, the tenement adjoining to the east side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Moden now dwelleth, for and during all such term of years as I have to come and unexpired of and in the same, by virtue of the lease aforesaid, so as the said John Pope and his assigns, during the continuance of the said term, do pay them half of the rent reserved by the said lease from time to time, and at such days and times as is limited by the same lease, and do perform such covenants touching only the said tenement, to him my said brother bequeathed, as are to be done by force of the said lease; and also that my said brother do within one month next after my decease enter into bond of a reasonable sum of money to my executors for payment of the said moiety, or one half of the said rent, and performance of the covenants touching the same tenement as aforesaid, according to my true meaning and intent in that behalf.

Item, I will and devise unto Mary Clarke, alias Wood, all that tenement adjoining to the west side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Holland now dwelleth, for and during the continuance of the term of years which I have in the same, (amongst others as aforesaid) by force or virtue of the said lease to me made by the said Francis Langley, to be by her holden and enjoyed from time to time, free of any rent to be paid for the same as long as she lives; and after her decease I give and bequeath my interest and term of years, then to come and unexpired, of and in the said tenement, unto Thomas Bromley, who was heretofore baptised in the parish of St. Andrew's, Undershaft, in London.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clark, alias Wood, and to

the said Thomas Bromley, as well all my part, right, title, and interest which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Curtein, situated and being in Hallywell, in the parish of St. Leonard's in Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, as also all my part, estate and interest, which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Globe, in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the county of Surry.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Thomas Bromley the sum of fifty pounds, and my cheyne of gold, being in value thirty pounds and ten shillings, to be paid and delivered unto him at such time as he shall have accomplished his full age of one-and-twenty years, provided in the mean time his mother shall receive these legacies, in regard the use thereof may bring up the boy, putting in good security for delivering in the aforesaid legacies at his full years of one and twenty; and if the said Thomas shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before he shall have accomplished his said age of one and twenty years, then I will give and bequeath the said sum of fifty pounds, and the said cheyne of gold, unto the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, to her own use.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, the sum of fifty pounds more; provided always, and my will and mind is, that if the said Marie shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before the said Thomas Bromley, then the said fifty pounds shall remain to the said Thomas Bromley, to be paid to him at such time as he shall accomplish the full age of one and twenty years.

Item, I give and bequeath to Agnes Web, my mother, the sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England; and to my brother, John Pope, the sum of twenty pounds; and to my brother, William Pope, other twenty pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to the children of my said brethren, John and William Pope, the sum of ten pounds, to be paid and distributed equal amongst the same children, part and part alike.

Item, I give and bequeath to Robert Gough and John Edmans all my wearing apparel, and all my arms, to be equally divided between them.

Item, I give and bequeath to my cousin, Thomas Owen, five pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to my loving friend, John Jackson, one ring, with a square diamond in it.

Item, I give and bequeath to Marie Clark, alias Woode, half my plate; and to Suzan Gasquine the other half, being equally divided between them.

Item, I give and bequeath to Dorothea Clark, sister to Marie Clark, alias Wood, one gold ring, with five opalls in it: all the rest of my rings I give to good wife Willingson, who is now the keeper of my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my loving friend, Bazell Nicholl, scrivener, the sum of five pounds; and to my neighbour and friend, John Wrench, the sum of five pounds: the residue of all my goods, rights, and chattels, not before bequeathed, my debts and funeral charge being first satisfied, I wholie give and bequeath to my mother, my brothers, and their children, to be equally divided between them; and I do ordain and appoint my well-beloved friends, Bazell Nicholl and John Wrench, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, earnestly praying and desiring them to see the same performed in all things, according to my true meaning therein: and for because much of this money is out upon bonds, I do limit, for the performance of this my will, six months; and thus not doubting but they will perform the trust in this behalf by me in them reposed.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal.

THOMAS POPE.

Sealed in the presence of

JOHN WRENCH.

JOHN EDMANS.

We are not able, from other documents, to throw any light upon the connexion between Pope and Mary Clarke, alias Wood, Thomas Bromley, or Susan Gasquine. Robert Gough and John Edmonds (spelt Edmans) were both players, who survived Pope many years. We may speculate that they had been his apprentices, and that on this account he singled them out from their fellows in the company. As Pope's will was proved on 13th February, 1603-4, he must have died between that date and the 22d July preceding, when he was "in good and perfect health."

GEORGE BRYAN.

The appearance of the name of George Bryan as that of one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays excites surprise, because we meet with it no where else, excepting in the plat of Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" his characters there were far from prominent, being those of Lucius, one of the councillors of Gorboduc, and Lord Warwick in that portion of the piece in which Henry VI. was concerned: in Gorboduc it is not clear that he did not double his part, and sustain that of an unnamed lord also. However, as we have noticed in the memoir of Thomas Pope, Bryan is one of the three performers distinguished by the prefix of "Mr.," and perhaps he was of some importance and standing, though not of any high rank in the company. The date of his connexion with "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" must of course have been anterior to the year 1588.[1]

Chalmers had no authority whatever for stating that George Bryan "played the Earl of Warwick in 'Henry the Sixth,' during 1592;"[2] and he seems to have confounded the play, or plays, of "Henry VI.," as they are printed among Shakespeare's works, with the introduction of that king, attended by the Earl of Warwick, Lidgate, and others, in the performance

[1] Malone (Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 199) tells us, "Bryan was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588." How can there be a doubt about it, unless the "Mr. Bryan" of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" were some other than George Bryan, whose name is found in the list in the folio of 1623?

[2] Suppl. Apol. for the Believers, p. 160.

which Tarlton prepared before his death. Bryan did act the Earl of Warwick in that piece — "to them, Warwick, Mr. Bryan"—but to assert that he was the Earl of Warwick in the historical play, in 1592, is merely gratuitous: we have no means of knowing who was the representative of the Earl of Warwick, when "Henry VI." was acted either in 1592, or at any other period, but probably an actor of more prominence than Bryan seems ever to have attained.

Neither had Chalmers evidence to sustain his assertion that Bryan was "certainly dead" in 1598, and that "he did not live long enough to represent any part in Ben Jonson's Every Man in his Humour." The author of that comedy only enumerates ten players as "the principal comedians" in it, and Bryan is unquestionably not one of them; but there were sixteen characters in the play, and Bryan may have had an inferior part, not calling for the specification of him as one of "the principal comedians" in it. The truth is that we are ignorant when or where Bryan died; but there is good reason to believe that he was living in the spring of 1600, for we read the following entry in the register of baptisms at St. Andrew's, Blackfriars, which most likely applies to our actor:—

George, sonne to George Bryan. 17 Feb. 1599.[1]

This is a source of information Malone and Chalmers never consulted; and although we find no other trace of him there, it makes it likely that he lived in the liberty in which the theatre was situated, and that he was not then an old man.

Chalmers sought in vain for Bryan's will in the Prerogative Office, and we have not been more successful: he does not occur, as a legatee or otherwise, in any of the testamentary documents of his companions of the stage.

It is to be presumed, perhaps, that he belonged, after the

[1] The name of Bryan, sometimes spelt Bryant, is not unfrequent in the registers both of St. Andrew's and St. Anne's, Blackfriars, but this is the only instance in which *George* Bryan is mentioned.

death of Tarlton, and to the end of his career, to the association known as the Lord Chamberlain's players, and we are therefore not surprised at not meeting with his name in Henslowe's "Diary." The Bryant spoken of in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn"[1] was merely a travelling bearward, in the employ of the Deputy Master of the king's games. The difference in the mode of spelling the name, in the lax orthography of those times, would present no difficulty, if other circumstances concurred to induce a belief that it was the same man.

As in this memoir we have had occasion to quote, for the first time, the registers of St. Anne, Blackfriars, we may introduce from them a remarkable memorandum relating to a person whose name has hitherto only been known because it is placed at the end of one of our most ancient printed plays, "The Three Ladies of London," originally published in 1584, and again in 1592: it there stands, "Finis. Paule Bucke," but on the title-page it is stated that the drama was "written by R. W." *forsan* Robert Wilson. Theatrical antiquaries have not been able to understand, therefore, how Paul Buck was concerned in it, but we can now prove that he was an actor, and most likely he made and signed the transcript from which the play was printed. In the registers of St. Anne's we read, among the burials:—

Paull, soon to Paull Bucke, bastard of a player. 2 July. 1599.

There was a natural horror of players in the puritanical district of the Blackfriars, and this entry was intended as a reproach upon the profession. Paul Buck figures in several other parts of the same register.

[1] Page 84, under the date of the year 1608.

HENRY CONDELL.

All that we positively know of Henry Condell,[1] in connection with the stage, is included in less than thirty years, viz., between 1598, when he was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," and 1627, when he died.

This observation will appear new and strange to those who have been accustomed to rely on the authority of Steevens, Malone, and Chalmers, in such matters, because they have carried back the history of Condell at least ten years earlier. Steevens found the Christian name of Harry, as that of one of the performers in Tarlton's plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," and at once set it down that "Harry" meant Henry Condell—"Harry, i. e., Condell."[2] If such were the case (and we are, of course, not prepared to deny its possibility), Condell's character was that of Ferrex, the eldest son of King Gorboduc; but Harry was a very common Christian name, and it must have been borne by various performers besides Condell. It is, therefore, a mere conjecture that "Harry" was Henry Condell: nevertheless, Chalmers adopted it as an ascertained fact, and asserted without qualification, that "Condell represented Ferrex in Tarlton's plat of 'The Seven Deadly Sins' before 1589."[3]

[1] The received orthography of the name seems to have been Condell, and so it is printed at the end of the dedication, and in the list of "principal actors" of the folio of 1623: elsewhere we meet with it spelt Cundall (as it stands in the will), Condle, Cundell, and Condall.

[2] Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 356.

[3] "Apology for the Believers," p. 438. As our readers are aware, the correct title of the piece is "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly

Whether Condell did or did not belong in 1587 to the company to which Shakespeare was attached, it is certain that his name is not included in the lists of players at the Blackfriars in that year, nor at the Globe in 1596. He had a character in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour" in 1598, and that, as already remarked, is the first we hear of him. If our conjecture be worth anything, he was the Captain Bobadill of that comedy, and consequently a performer upon whose talents as a comedian much reliance could be placed:[1] hence

Sins;" and it is necessary to note the difference, because "The Seven Deadly Sins," constituting *the first part* of the same performance, has not come down to us.

[1] As has been frequently stated, the names of the parts they filled are not inserted opposite the names of the performers, so that we can only speculate as to the character each actor sustained. Having so long made the subject our study, and having obtained some little insight into the peculiar qualifications of the representatives of the personages in "Every Man in his Humour," we may, perhaps, be allowed to subjoin our notions (which of course are merely conjectural) upon the point. At the end of Ben Jonson's edition of the comedy, in 1616, the names of the ten "principal comedians" are placed in double columns, but we have arranged them in one column, probably according to the order intended by the author.

Kno'well	Will. Shakespeare.
Kitely	Ric. Burbadge.
Brayne-worm . . .	Aug. Philips.
Downe-right	Joh. Hemings.
Cap. Bobadill . . .	Hen. Condel.
Just. Clement . . .	Tho. Pope.
Mr. Stephen	Will. Kempe.
Mr. Matthew	Will. Slye.
Dame Kitely	Chr. Beeston.
Tib	Joh. Duke.

We have spelt the names of the characters and actors precisely as they were given by Ben Jonson, for we have little doubt that he superintended the printing of the folio of his works in 1616.

it may be inferred that he was an actor of experience as well as of ability. We suppose him to have been some years on the stage in 1598, although his name be not mentioned in 1596. In 1599 he was one of the six actors in "Every Man out of his Humour," whose names were selected by Ben Jonson, to be made prominent among the sixteen performers engaged in the representation of that "comical satire."

In the spring of 1599, we obtain the earliest intelligence regarding Condell in his private capacity. When, where, and whom he married, does not appear; but the eldest child, of which we have any tidings, was baptized at the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in Feb., 1598-9: the entry is in this form, not specifying, as was done in some instances, the occupation of the father:—

Baptized, 27 Feb., 1598, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condall.

At this date, and until his death, excepting during a short interval, when perhaps he took a lodging in a more airy neighbourhood, and late in life, when he had also a country-house at Fulham, Condell was a regular inhabitant of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where Heminge also resided; and it would not surprise us to find that they jointly occupied the same house. The registers, unlike those at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, do not in any case specify the particular abode of the parties. We believe him to have been married in 1597, but not in any parish church in or near London, the registers of which we have had an opportunity of examining: it is most likely that the ceremony took place in the country, and that he brought his wife to reside with him in town, while he pursued his professional avocations.[1] We reject the

[1] Perhaps she was from Norfolk: in his will Condell speaks of a cousin named Gilder, of "New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk," and Gilder may have been his wife's relation, and cousin to Condell by marriage. Possibly he was a Norfolk man himself, but we are without any information as to the place of his birth or bringing up.

notion, founded on the assertion of Roberts, the player, adverted to in our memoir of Heminge, that Condell was also a printer.[1] We have no trace of his having followed any occupation but that of the stage, and in his will he terms himself "gentleman," a rank actors were allowed to assume, and which they were very glad to adopt, in opposition to the puritanical enemies of theatrical performances, who continually taunted them, in the words of the old statutes, with being "rogues and vagabonds."

His daughter Elizabeth, above mentioned, only lived until 11th April after she was born; but on the 4th April, 1601, her loss was supplied by another daughter, baptized Anne, who survived until 16th July, 1610, when she was buried at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Condell's eldest son, Richard (perhaps after Burbage) was christened on 18th April, 1602; but although we meet with no trace of his burial at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, there is little doubt that he died in the lifetime of his father, as he is not mentioned in the will, where the other surviving sons and daughters are named. A second Elizabeth was baptized on 14th April, 1603 (not 1606, as Chalmers gives the date[2]), but she was buried on 22nd April in the same year. Condell and his wife had no more children until 1606: on 26th October of that year they had a third Elizabeth baptized, who, from being called Elizabeth Finch in her father's will, may be concluded to have married a person of that name, but the union certainly did not take place at the

[1] Roberts also states, but without adducing any authority for his assertion beyond stage-tradition, that Condell was a comic performer. Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 199. Our old performers were often comedians or tragedians, as suited the drama they were to act, and the company to which they were attached; but, from the plays in which we find the name of Condell most frequently occur as one of the performers, there is some reason to believe that the stage-tradition mentioned by Roberts is well-founded.

[2] "Apology for the Believers," p. 439.

church where her baptism was recorded. The entry in the registers is in this instance remarkable, because it gives us information upon another point, with which we should otherwise have been unacquainted. It runs as follows:—

Baptized, 26 Oct., 1606, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condell, Sydeman of the parish."

There can be no doubt that at this date Condell was considered one of the substantial and respectable inhabitants of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; and we learn from his will, that he was the owner of property in the parish. It does not appear from the register, or elsewhere, that he subsequently filled any other office among his fellow-parishioners.

In the mean time James I. had granted his patent, dated in May, 1603, by which he constituted certain players, therein named, his own theatrical servants. In that instrument the name of Henry Condell stands sixth, following those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, Phillips, and Heminge, and preceding those of Sly, Armyn, and Cowley: unless we suppose "Harry," in "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," to have meant Condell, the three last were decidedly older actors than he was, and the situation he fills in the patent may afford some testimony of his rank in the company, and of his talents in the profession.

Soon after the concession of this authority, the King's players, as they were thenceforward called, seem to have taken some new recruits into the association; and we for the first time hear of two players of the names of Hostler (or Ostler) and Day as belonging to it.[1] On an official paper, preserved at Dulwich College, dated 9th April, 1604, we find a list of the company indorsed: it was made merely as a memorandum, and could not have been written anterior to the date of the

[1] Hostler and Day may have belonged to the company in May, 1603, their names not having been specified in the patent. Day was an actor in "Cynthia's Revels," in 1600, and Ostler in "the Poetaster," in 1601.

document, and there we find the name of Condell preceding those of Heminge, Armyn, Sly, Cowley, Hostler, and Day, and succeeding those of Burbadge, Shakespeare, L. Fletcher, and Phillips.[1] We are therefore entitled, as far as this arrangement of names goes, to consider Condell at least of equal importance to Heminge in the company.

There were several coincidences in the lives of Heminge and Condell: they married about the same time; they lived in the same parish; they had each a numerous family registered at the same church; their names are generally next to each other in the patents and lists of actors at the Globe and Blackfriars; and they were ultimately associated in the great undertaking of collecting the materials for the first folio of the works of Shakespeare. As they were joint-editors in the pious labour towards their "friend and fellow," they will be joint partakers of the gratitude of posterity for the able performance of their self-imposed duty.

Condell had ceased to be "sideman of the parish" when his next child was baptized, Mary, at his parish church, on the 30th January, 1607-8. Chalmers supposed that she outlived her father, because he did not find the record of her burial in St. Mary, Aldermanbury: if, however, he had looked at all carefully at the registers of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, he would have found that she was interred there in less than three months after she was born. We give the entry just as it stands, for a reason that is apparent on the face of it:—

1607. Marye Condell, the daughter of Henry Condell, was buryed the xviiith of March.—Hoxton.

The 18th March, 1607, was, of course, the 18th March, 1608, according to our present reckoning; and "Hoxton," at the end of the entry, shows the place from which the body was brought: our conjecture is, that Condell had taken a lodging there, for the sake of change of air for his wife and

[1] "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 68.

child, but without having been able to preserve the life of the latter. That he had no settled residence at Hoxton is quite clear, because his infant daughter Mary is the only member of his family mentioned in the parish records of St. Leonard's.

What might be the amount of property Condell had acquired at this date we have no means of ascertaining, beyond the fact that he and Heminge were the proprietors of precisely the same interest in the receipts of the Blackfriars theatre: they had each two shares out of twenty, into which the profits of the concern seem to have been divided about the year 1608.[1] Malone was of opinion, that Condell "was the owner of a considerable portion of the shares or property" of the Globe and Blackfriars, and if he meant that Condell was a large sharer in those undertakings, he was, doubtless, correct; but Condell would not, in his will, have talked of his "*leases, and terms of years*, of messuages, houses and places, situate in the Blackfriars and at the Banksido," if he had been one of the owners of the freehold of either theatre: besides, we are quite sure that he was not, as far as regards the Blackfriars; and elsewhere in his will he very carefully and accurately distinguishes between the kinds of property. Two shares out of twenty, in a theatre where, most probably, the company was numerous, was a large proportion for one actor; but what was the amount of his interest in the Globe can only be matter of speculation, until we obtain sources of intelligence of which we are not yet in possession.

It is to be observed that, although we so often meet with the names of Heminge and Condell in conjunction elsewhere, they are never coupled in the various warrants of payment for performances at court. In the series between 1603 and 1618, it does not appear that they ever waited upon the Lord Chamberlain together, for the purpose of receiving the money;[2]

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, i., p. ccxx.

[2] See Mr. Cunningham's Revels' Accounts, Introd., p. xxxiv. et seq.

neither do we ever meet with the name of Condell, as that of the sole person to whom the warrant was made out. Hence we may perhaps conclude that, as far as regarded performances before the king, Condell was never recognized by persons in authority as one of the ostensible leaders of his majesty's players. Nevertheless, all existing evidence establishes that, during the whole period to which these warrants apply, he was actively engaged in his theatrical duties, and we meet with his name as one of the principal performers of Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," in 1603; of his "Volpone," in 1605; of his "Alchemist," in 1610; and of his "Catiline," in 1611. These are the only dramas of that precise date, acted by his majesty's players, to which the names of the performers are appended.

He did not increase his family between January, 1607-8, and May, 1610; but on the 6th of the latter month a son Henry was christened at the parish church, who outlived his father, and is therefore mentioned in his will, but who was buried on the 4th March, 1629. Another son, who also survived his father, was baptized William at St. Mary's, on the 26th May, 1611. There is an entry likewise of the baptism of a son Edward on 22nd August, 1614, but the infant was buried the day afterwards. Thus Condell and his wife, out of nine children born since 1598, had only three living in 1614, viz., Henry, William, and Elizabeth; and, as far as can be ascertained, they did not add to the number afterwards.

Condell played in most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher brought out before the death of Burbadge: indeed, his name, with that of Burbadge and others, is appended to several of them, such as "The Captain," "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "Valentinian," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Loyal Subject," "The Mad Lover,"[1] &c. He was the

[1] The precise years in which these dramas were brought out cannot now be ascertained with any degree of precision: nearly all we certainly

representative also of the Humorous Lieutenant, and another of his ascertained characters was the Cardinal, in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," when it was originally produced; but before it was printed, in 1623, he had relinquished the part to R. Robinson. This is precisely the year in which the first folio of Shakespeare bears date, and Condell's resignation of the part of the Cardinal, about the same period, is one of our reasons for thinking that he had then, at least partially, retired from the active and acting duties of the profession.

He was, however, in full employment as a member of the company in 1619, when James I. granted to his players a confirmation of the patent of 1603. Burbadge was then just dead, but his name, as explained in our memoir of him, is found notwithstanding in the instrument. Heminge is placed at the head of the association in the list of its members, followed by Burbadge, and after Burbadge comes Condell, followed by Lowin and eight others. That some consideration is due to these locations of the names of actors is quite evident, but it is difficult in any instance to say how much. This document was unknown to Malone and Chalmers, so that they had no assistance from it in the brief sketches they gave of the lives of the actors in Shakespeare's plays. Richard Burbadge being dead at the date of this confirmation, Condell's name may be said to stand second in the enumeration of actors it contains, and such was its actual position in 1625, when Charles I., on coming to the throne, issued a fresh patent to his players. The names of Heminge and Condell are there followed by those of Lowin, Taylor, Robinson, and eight, as we apprehend, inferior performers.

Condell would hardly have resigned such a character as the

know regarding them is that they were acted before the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619. As to a few, the deaths of other actors may afford a clue to their first production. The only dramatist of the time, who has fixed the dates when his plays were originally brought out, is Ben Jonson.

Cardinal in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," shortly prior to 1623, if he had not given up other parts to different theatrical successors about the same time. In 1625 we find him residing at Fulham, at "his country house;" and it may be doubted whether, having first taken up his abode there only temporarily, to escape the infection of the plague prevailing in London to a most fatal extent, he did not afterwards continue his residence at Fulham, in addition to the house he permanently held in Aldermanbury. It is not at all unlikely that, his presence at the Globe and Blackfriars not being so frequently required in 1625, as it had been while he continued a performer in most of the plays represented, he rented a cottage at Fulham, to which at intervals he retired. It does not, however, seem by his will that he left any property there, and we may conclude that the house was not his own, but that he removed his wife and family to it, going himself to London only when called there by business.

It is very certain that until the last hour of his life his connexion with the stage was never terminated, but all the theatres were closed in the summer and autumn of 1625, the deaths in and near London being extremely numerous: the plague was so destructive in Aldermanbury, that it carried off the clergyman and hundreds of his parishioners, and there is a curious note in the register, stating that no correct account of the number or dates of the burials could be obtained: the consequence was that a long list of them was irregularly inserted, acknowledged by the person who made it to be very defective. During such calamitous visitations, most of the players quitted London, with a double motive—to avoid the disorder, and to obtain subsistence by acting in the country. Thomas Dekker seems never to have played, but to have been merely a dramatist: he was always poor, and perhaps could not afford to remove himself and his family from the metropolis: at all events, in 1625 he published a pamphlet, in which he reproached and lashed all parties who had made their escape

from the infection. He called it "A Rod for Run-aways,"[1] and it is one of the scarcest of this voluminous author's productions on ephemeral topics: it was replied to by certain players, and other parties apparently connected with theatres (who only give their initials, which perhaps were never meant to be appropriated) in a tract entitled "The Run-away's Answer to a Book called A Rod for Run-aways,"[2] which is thus dedicated—

> To our much respected and very worthy friend, Mr. H. Condell, at his country-house at Fulham.

It shows the good terms upon which Condell lived with his associates, and with what proofs of kindness they separated, when the latter, after having been hospitably entertained by Condell, went into the provinces. It is in these terms—

> At our parting from London, to undertake our sad peregrination into the countrey, amongst our friends, (who are hard to be found) it pleased you to bestow upon us a free and noble farewell. We remember it with

[1] The full title of the only copy we ever saw is this: "A Rod for Run-awayes. God's Tokens of his feareful Judgements, sundry wayes pronounced upon this city, and on severall persons, both flying from it and staying in it, &c. By Tho. D. Printed at London for John Trundle, &c. 1625." Trundle was a notorious printer of ballads and temporary tracts, who has been immortalized by Ben Jonson in his "Every Man in his Humour." He lived and carried on business in the parish (St. Giles, Cripplegate) in which Ben Jonson was married for the second time; and the registers prove, that John Trundle married Margery Parton on 4th September, 1595. In due time afterwards, Elizabeth, "the daughter of John Trundle, printer," was baptized at the same church.

[2] The title may be worth subjoining:—"The Run-awayes Answer to a Booke called A Rodde for Runne-awayes. In which are set downe a Defence of their Running, with some Reasons perswading some of them never to come backe, &c. Printed MDCXXV." Neither Malone nor Chalmers was aware of the existence of these tracts.

thanks, which cuts off the sinne of ingratitude; yet because thanks is but one word, and that your love cannot receive a requitall but in many, we send you a little bundle of papers, full. For being abused in a booke, printed at London, in which we were called Runne-awayes, wee in this our defence request you to be an arbiter, to judge whether we have not just cause to stand upon our guard in so ignoble an opposition. You are nearer to London then wee, by many miles, and therefore intreat you to publish, to so many friends of ours as you know, this our entring the lists in so brave a point of honour. Thus, wishing all happinesse to you, and a continuation of health, we rest,

Your most loving friends,

B. V.
S. O.
From Oxford and elsewhere, T. O.
September 10, 1625. A. L.
V. S.

The players were at this time strolling about the country, and picking up a very precarious and scanty subsistence. "Would it were once come," they exclaim, "that we might have a full audience!" and farther on they make reference to their days of prosperity, when performing at the theatres in London.[1] There is no printer's nor stationer's name to the tract, but perhaps we are entitled to presume that Condell procured it to be published: we find no other indication of his connection with it, and it throws no light upon his conduct and character, beyond proving that he gave the players "a free and noble farewell" before they went into the provinces, and that they resorted to him for a means of vindication while they were absent.

[1] There is a passage in this tract, with reference to the performances of English actors abroad, showing (in accordance with other authorities) that some of them went to play on the continent, when they were prevented from performing in the metropolis: "We can be bankrupts (they say) on this side, and gentlemen of a company beyond the sea: we burst at London, and are pieced up at Rotterdam."

We have no data upon which we can calculate his age at this period, but that he was certainly married before February, 1598-9: supposing him then to have been five and twenty, he was not fifty when he quitted the profession as an actor, although he kept up his intimate connexion with the stage for four or five years afterwards. His interest in the two theatres, in the Blackfriars and on the Bankside, would doubtless induce him still to watch over those undertakings; but, as before remarked, the last we hear of him as a member of the company of the King's players is in 1625, when Charles I., on succeeding to the throne, renewed the patent first granted by his father in 1603, and confirmed in 1619. In the spring of 1625, on the death of John Underwood, (a member of the same association) Condell acted as executor to his will, while Heminge and Lowin were appointed overseers of its performance. At the time of Condell's decease, two years afterwards, he had not discharged all the obligations of the trust, and left them, with a solemn injunction, to be fulfilled by his widow.

He died at the close of 1627, having been buried on the 29th December of that year: the following is the brief memorial of the event in the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—

Buried. Mr. Condall. December 29. 1627.

His will, dated 13th December, was made at Fulham, when he was "sick in body, but of perfect mind;" and as he directed that he should be interred "in the night time in such parish where it shall please God to call me," we conclude that he was brought to his house in London before his decease. His eldest son, Henry, was intended for one of the Universities, and an annuity of £30 was set apart for his maintenance there: his son William was apprenticed, probably to a grocer of the name of Peter Saunderson, one of the four overseers of Condell's will; and another of the overseers was Herbert Finch, who had married Elizabeth Condell: the two remaining overseers were John Heminge (who was possibly Saunderson's

partner as a grocer) and Cuthbert Burbadge. The testator died possessed of considerable property, besides his shares in the two theatres occupied by the King's players; but as it is described in the will, which we subjoin, it is not necessary particularly to mention it here: he left his widow "full and sole executrix."

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry Cundall, of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following; that is to say: first, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time, in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth.

Imprimis, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in Helmett-court in the Strand, and elsewhere, in the county of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth, my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of such issue, unto my son, William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue, unto my daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and

every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the parish of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet Street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbes thereof, unto my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to her assigns, untill my said son, William Cundall, his term of apprenticehood shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticeship shall be so fully expired, I give, devise, and bequeath the said messuages and premises, situate in the city of London and the suburbes thereof, unto my said son, William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue, unto my said daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth; viz.:

Imprimis, whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessed of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof made, and by me exhibited in due form of law into the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also, in discharge of my said executorship, I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood, deceased, as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now, in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little casket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain, and appoint my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgement, that she will truely and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very

loving friends, John Hemingc, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son-in-law, Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderson, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and assisting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said four overseers the sum of five pounds apiece, to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son, William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits, which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriars, London, and at the Bankside in the county of Surry, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents and profits may be raised for a stock for my said son William, if he shall so long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son, Henry Cundall, for his maintenance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son, Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year; that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John Baptist, and St. Michael the archangel, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury, in London, shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity, or yearly sum of twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at the feast days above mentioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said

feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to master Doctor Clewett and master Edmond Powell, of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well-beloved daughter, Elizabeth Finch, all my household stuff, bedding, linen, brass and pewter, whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury, in London, to be equally divided between them, part and part alike: and for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin, Frances Gurney, alias Hulse, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds; and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances the like sum of five pounds.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant, Elizabeth Wheaton, a mourning gown, and forty shillings in money, and that place or priviledge which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long continue in the premises; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease.

And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my executrix, a sufficient release and discharge for and concerning the payment of the same.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate whatsoever, and wheresoever (after my debts shall be paid, and my funeral charges, and all other charges about the execution of this my will, first, paid and discharged), unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts and bequests, as I have by this my will given, devised, or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease.

Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void all former wills, testaments, codicils, executors, legacies and bequests whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

In witness whereof I, the said Henry Cundall, the testator to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us, whose names are hereunder written:—

ROBERT YONGE.
HUM. DYSON, Notary Publique.
And of me, RO. DICKENS, servant unto the said Notary.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram magistro Richardo Zouche, Legum Doctore, Surrogato, 24° die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relictæ dicti defuncti et executr., cui, &c., de bene, &c., jurat.

It deserves remark, that Humphrey Dyson, the notary who drew the preceding will, and who subscribes it as one of

the witnesses, was a very curious collector of plays, tracts and broadsides, and not a few have come down to us with his name upon them. In 1618 he published, in folio, "A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth."

One important fact connected with the life of Henry Condell was entirely omitted by Malone and Chalmers: we refer to the death of his widow. Malone looked over the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, very carelessly; and Chalmers, who corrected Malone's errors (adding, however, some of his own), did not take the trouble to turn over the leaves as far as the year 1635, or he would there have met with the subsequent entry:—

Mrs. Cundell was buried, 3 of October, 1635.

Her son Henry, as we have already stated, had died in March, 1629-30; but her son William, the grocer, seems to have been living at the death of his mother, and we have not been able to find in the records of the parish any notice of Elizabeth Finch or her husband.

WILLIAM SLY.

Sly, or Slye, sometimes written Slie, and Slee, was unquestionably a name very common in Warwickshire,[1] and it is not at all unlikely that our actor migrated from that part of the country about the time that Shakespeare joined a theatrical association in London. Sly is the name given to the drunkard in the Induction to the old "Taming of a Shrew," 1594,[2] as well as to our great dramatist's "Taming of the Shrew," and in the latter he is represented as a Warwickshireman, who refers to persons and places in that county. It is, however, to be observed that Slee, or Sly, is a very old name in connexion with dramatic performances in this country: John Slee, or Sly, was one of the players of Henry VIII., subsequently dismissed by Protector Somerset,[3] and from him William Sly, the actor in Shakespeare's dramas, may have been descended. Persons of the name of Sly also were weavers in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and we shall see presently, that our actor had some connexion with that parish, not of the most creditable description. There were Slyes, likewise, in Southwark, Shoreditch, and Aldermanbury;[4] so that it is

[1] Collier's Shakespeare, i., ci.

[2] See the Shakespeare Society's reprint of this unique edition in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. It was superintended through the press by Mr. Amyot.

[3] Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, i., 118, 139.

[4] In the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, at about this period, we find mention in the registers of John Slye, Mary Slye, Albone Slye, Robert Slye, Philip Slye, and Thomas Slye, but of no William Slye. At St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, we find Mrs. Slye buried on 30th May, 1592, and Mr. Slye, on 27th October, 1593.

not at all possible to determine from whence the family of William Sly came, and we have no where been able to discover the registration of his birth.

We can trace his residence in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the neighbourhood of the theatres on the Bankside, at an early date, by means of the token-books preserved in the vestry. In the year 1588 he resided in Norman's Rents, and "the widow Slye,"[1] perhaps his mother, lived near Philip Henslowe, the old manager, "at the east end of the Banksido." In 1593, William Slye had removed to Horseshoe Court, where, and at the same date, the following actors were also domiciled —Augustine Phillips, Richard Jones, and Thomas Dowton, or Downton. In 1595, after the building of the Globe, Sly had removed to Rose Alley, immediately contiguous to Henslowe's playhouse, and he continued there in 1596, but how long afterwards, we know not.

Like various other players, we hear of Sly, for the first time in his quality of an actor, before the year 1588, as the supporter of a character in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins." When Chalmers[2] asserts that he played Porrex in that piece, he is probably in error, for Sly's part seems, as far as we can judge, to have been Dordan, an attendant upon Porrex: "Enter Porrex, sad, with Dordan, his man. R. P. W. Sly." The letters R. P. were the initials of Robert Pallant, whose name is inserted at length earlier in the plat, or sketch of the conduct of the performance, and who seems to have been the Porrex of the scene; but this is by no means certain, on account of the confused and brief manner in which the names of the actors are inserted, and from another part of the representation it may possibly be collected that Sly had the part of Porrex. This, however, is a

[1] A William Slye, waterman, was resident on the Bankside in 1584, but we meet with no account of his burial: he might be the father of our actor.

[2] Apology for the Believers, &c., p. 440.

matter of little importance; and whether Sly were Porrex or Dordan, it is very clear that he was an actor in the drama in or before the year 1588. At this period, as we have stated, he lived in Norman's Rents, in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.

There is reason to believe that he was an actor under Henslowe in 1594, for we find the old manager dealing with him as one of his company: in his "Diary," an account between him and Sly occurs, with the following heading:—

Sowld unto William Sley, the 11 of octobr, 1594, a Jewell of gowld, seat with a whitte safer, for viijs, to be payd after xij^{d} a weacke, as followeth." (p. 66.)

To this succeed the memoranda of periodical payments; but, according to them, Sly never gave Henslowe more than six shillings and sixpence for the "jewel of gold set with a white sapphire;" and instead of letting the old pawn-broking manager have twelve pence a week, as agreed upon, the payments were irregular, and for the first five weeks were only two shillings and sixpence in the whole.[1]

This fact would tend to prove that Sly was then by no means in affluent circumstances; but, nevertheless, two years afterwards we hear of him as a member of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and standing forward among the Lord Chamberlain's players (acting at the Globe in the summer, and at the Blackfriars in the winter) as if he were a man

[1] There is another mention of Sly, not indeed in Henslowe's "Diary," but in documents formerly at Dulwich College, and fortunately printed by Malone, as they are now lost, by which it appears that Sly had played Pero, or Pierro, in some drama on Henslowe's stage. In the Appendix to Henslowe's "Diary," published by the Shakespeare Society, p. 275, we read the following in an inventory dated 13 March, 1598—

"Item, Perowes sewt, which W^{m} Sley were."

Henslowe meant "were," as the past tense *wore*, referring not to the year 1598, when Sly was not a member of his company, but to some former period, when he wore the suit as Pero.

of some importance, if not of substance, in connexion with the stage. In 1596, Sly was one of the petitioners to the Privy Council for permission to repair and enlarge the latter theatre, his name being last but one (that of Nicholas Tooley follows it) in a list of eight "owners and players." He continued a member of the same association in the spring of 1603; and, in the patent then granted by James I. to his players, Sly's name precedes those of Armyn and Cowley, following those of six other performers, among whom Tooley was not included.

We have already spoken (p. 26) of Sly's appearance in Marston's play, "The Malcontent," twice printed in 1604. The first impression does not inform us by what company it was originally acted, but both the author and Webster made additions to it before it was again printed, and then it was represented by "the King's Majesty's servants." In the Induction, (whether by Marston or Webster is not decisively ascertained) Sly, Sinklow, Burbadge, Condell, and Lowin, are introduced by their names, but the two first were dressed as characters, and the three last came before the audience merely as players:—

Enter W. Sly, a Tireman following him with a stool.

Tireman. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit there.

Sly. Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a country-gentleman, dost? Dost think I fear hissing? I'll hold my life thou tookest me for one of the players.

Tireman. No, sir.

Sly. By God's lid, if you had, I would have given you but sixpence for your stool."

It was the custom for gallants to sit upon stools on the stage at private theatres like the Blackfriars, where this comedy was represented, for which the ordinary price was sixpence, in addition to the entrance money. Sinklow just afterwards makes his appearance as Sly's cousin, son to a usurer of the name of Doomsday, and they are joined by Burbadge, Condell,

and Lowin, in their plain clothes, and in their capacity of players. Condell begs Sly to put on his hat; to which he replies, "No, in good faith, for mine ease," a not uncommon colloquial expression of the time; but as it is used by Osrick in "Hamlet" (act v., sc. 2), Malone inferred that Sly had been the performer of that part:[1] Shakespeare's words are, indeed, very nearly identical with those in "The Malcontent" put into Sly's mouth, "Nay, in good faith, for mine ease: in good faith;" and the conjecture is at least plausible, because Sly's character in this Induction is not dissimilar to that of Osrick. Afterwards, Sly carefully takes the feather out of his hat, and puts it into his pocket, in order that he may not expose himself to the ridicule of the spectators; and after some discussion, as to the nature of the play and the "additions," and why it was now acted by the King's players, after it had been brought out by some rival company, the actors retire to dress for the scene, and the comedy begins.

We have adverted thus particularly to the Induction to "The Malcontent," because it may serve to show the sort of characters Sly was usually employed to represent. There is no reason for supposing that he acted the drunkard in the Induction to Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew" beyond the coincidence of the name; but we are sure that he played in "Every Man in his Humour" in 1598, in "Every Man out of his Humour" in 1599, in "Sejanus" in 1603, and in "Volpone" in 1605. It is very probable that he was related to the Thomas Sly, who accompanied Kemp in his Morris-dance to Norwich in 1599 or 1600, and played upon the pipe and tabor during that merry and eccentric journey; and, as already observed (p. 151), there was a Thomas Sly resident at that date among the actors in Shoreditch. What characters William Sly had in Ben Jonson's plays, above enumerated, must be matter of speculation, founded mainly upon our ac-

[1] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 206.

quaintance with his part in "The Malcontent," which serves also to show that he was Osrick in "Hamlet."

Considering what we know of Sly, we are rather surprised to find him, on 4th May, 1605, appointed one of the overseers (and ultimately executors) of the will of Augustine Phillips, his coadjutors being John Heminge, Richard Burbadge, and Timothy Whithorne. He was, probably, never married: we can discover no marriage of a William Sly, at about the period, in any of the parish registers we have consulted; but we find that in 1606 he had a natural son which was named John, but which lived only a few days. Chalmers met with the registration of its burial at St. Giles, Cripplegate; but he failed to point out the entry of its baptism in the same records, although the two memoranda are inserted near each other: they run thus, and the first, it will be seen, gives the name of the mother:—

Christened: John, sonne of William Sley (player), base-borne on the body of Margaret Chambers, 24 Sept., 1606.

Buried: John, sonne of William Sly, player, (base) 4 Oct., 1606.

It is evident that Margaret Chambers, who brought the infant into the world, lived in the parish of St. Giles, in Cripplegate, or it would not have been baptized there; but at this date Sly had left the Bankside, where he was living up to 1596, and resided among the actors in Shoreditch, where we suppose others of his family to have dwelt, as several persons of the name, besides Thomas Sly, the taborer, occur in the registers of St. Leonard's. There Sly himself was buried in less than two years after the death of his natural son, and he was registered as "gentleman," and not as "player," which was the more usual designation:—

1608. William Slye, gent., was buried the same day [16 August].

Malone only knew, from Heywood's "Apology for Actors," that Sly was dead in 1612, when that tract was published; but the entry of his burial has since been discovered, and Chalmers saw

his nuncupative will in the Prerogative Office, both of which prove the year in which he was lost to the stage. His will bears date on the 4th August, twelve days before he was buried in the cemetery of St. Leonard's, and it was proved on the 24th August. Chalmers informs us that it was ineffectually resisted by a William Sly, who claimed as next of kin; and looking at the document, without signature by any of the witnesses, and presenting other suspicious appearances, it seems extraordinary that its validity should have been established. Sly does not mention a single relation in it, but bequeaths his whole property to persons who, as far as we know, were strangers:—"To Jane Browne, the daughter of Robert Browne, and Sisely his wife, the house where he now dwells, to her, &c., for ever; to Robert Browne, his part of the Globe; to James Sandes, forty pounds; the rest to Sisely Browne, making her his executrix."

Such are the precise terms of the main body of the original will, which we have examined, and which looks like anything but an authentic document. Chalmers made a mistake in quoting it, and printed *James Saunder* instead of James Sandes, who, as we have seen (p. 81), had been apprentice to Augustine Phillips; and the error is the more important, because Chalmers founded upon it an attack upon the accuracy of Malone. A codicil was added to the will, perhaps for the purpose of conciliating Cuthbert Burbadge, and giving an appearance of genuineness to the document, bequeathing to him Sly's sword and hat, together with forty shillings to be distributed among the poor of the parish where Sly died.

That Robert Browne, the father of Jane, and husband of Sisely Browne, was an actor, is more than probable, although Chalmers produces, and in fact could produce, no evidence to support his positive assertion of the affirmative. Browne was a common name in connexion with the stage at the period, and the mother of Edward Alleyn married a "haberdasher," who was also an actor, so called. Among "The Alleyn Papers,"

printed by the Shakespeare Society, is a letter from a Robert Browne to the founder of Dulwich College, dated 11th April, 1612, in favour of a player and his wife of the name of Rose; but this communication Chalmers never saw, and it does not read as if Robert Browne were himself on the stage. It may, nevertheless, have been the very man whose family derived the chief benefit under William Sly's will, and to whom he left "his part of the Globe." These words must, probably, be understood to relate to Sly's interest as a sharer; but he may have been part-owner of the theatre itself, unless, as we have supposed in our Memoir (p. 17), Richard Burbadge were the sole proprietor of the house.

RICHARD COWLEY.

We learn from the quarto and folio editions of "Much Ado about Nothing" (as stated on p. 89), that Cowley was the performer of the character of Verges, at the same time that Kemp was the representative of Dogberry: the names of the two actors are inserted in the old impressions, instead of those of the parts they sustained. This is the only existing proof of the department of the stage to which Cowley belonged; but we are not warranted thereby in concluding, with Malone and Chalmers, that Cowley "appears to have been an actor of a low class." We have seen comedians of very high reputation, in our day, undertake the character of Verges, and obtain increased fame by the admirable truth and finish of the performance.

Cowley must have played Verges about the year 1599, but he had then been long on the stage: he was an actor in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," which could not have been brought out later than 1588, and perhaps considerably earlier, but it is not possible to settle precisely what were his duties in the piece: his name occurs in nearly all parts of it, but never in such a manner as to enable us to decide what character he sustained. In the first scene we read—

A tent being plast one the stage for Henry the Sixt: he in it asleepe; to him the Leutenant, a purcevaunt, R. Cowly, Jo. Duke, and 1 Warder, R. Pallant;

and in the last—

Henry speaks to him, Licutenant, Pursevaunt and Warders, R. Cowly, J. Duke, J. Holland, Joh. Sincler; to them Warwick. Mr. Brian.

Hence we might perhaps gather, from the corresponding

location of the characters and of the actors, that Richard Cowley played Henry the Sixth, but from other parts of the same performance this seems very doubtful; and in some places he appears to have acted merely as one of the soldiers, or to have carried the colours. He probably was "a lord" in that portion of the plat that relates to King Gorboduc and his sons; Giraldus, in the scenes where Sardanapalus figures; and it is not at all clear that he had not a female character in the story of Tereus and Philomele. The only positive facts seem to be, that Richard Cowley was an actor at the time when this drama was got up and represented, and that he was much and variously employed in it.

As he perhaps sustained the part of one of Philomele's attendant ladies, we may reasonably imagine that he was young in 1588: from whence he came we have no hint beyond an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, that a Richard Cowley, who might be his father, were buried on the 10th January, 1587. The name of Cowley was not common in that parish, but it was so in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and there we are certain that our actor lived and died. Malone and Chalmers saw the registers, and found some entries relating to him, but omitted several others, a deficiency we have supplied from a recent examination.

We have every reason to suppose that Cowley was a member of the same company as Edward Alleyn (the Lord Strange's players) in 1593; for in a letter to his wife, during a provincial expedition in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in London, dated 1st August, he mentions Cowley as having joined him at Bristol, and as having been the bearer of a letter from Mrs. Alleyn:—"I received," he says, "your letter at Bristo by Richard Couley, for the which I thank you:"[1] Cowley's business in going to Bristol must have been

[1] "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 26.

to assist Alleyn, and the rest of the association to which he belonged, in their performances in the west of England. A part of Shoreditch was at that time called Alleyn's Rents, possibly the property of Alleyn's family; and there at one period we find Richard Cowley living with his family: his son Cuthbert was baptized from thence on the 8th May, 1597.

This entry of the baptism of Cuthbert Cowley is the earliest entry noticed by Malone and Chalmers; but there is no doubt that Richard Cowley was married before 1595, because in March 1595-6 he had a son, named Robert, christened at St. Leonard's: the memorandum runs as follows:—

1595. March 8. Baptized, Robert Cowlye, the sonne of Richard. Hallywell Street.

This shows also that he had dwelt in Holywell Street before he removed to Alleyn's Rents, but he afterwards returned to his old quarters: he lived in Holywell Street when "—— Cowley, (the Christian name is omitted in the registration, but perhaps it was Robert, born in 1595) the sonne of Richard Cowly," was buried on 20th March, 1597. It was just after this date that we find him in Alleyn's Rents, where he did not long continue: when "Richard Cowlye, the sonne of Richard," was christened on 29th April, 1598, the father's abode is again recorded as in Holywell Street. Presuming that the unnamed son, who died in 1597, was Robert, of whom we do not hear afterwards, Cowley had two sons living in 1598, viz., Cuthbert and Richard: the latter was buried at St. Leonard's on the 26th February, 1602-3; but, as far as existing evidence goes, Cuthbert survived his parents.

Cowley and his wife (we cannot discover when nor whom he married) had also a daughter, of whom Malone and Chalmers take no notice: the entry of her baptism is this:—

1601. Feb. 2. Baptized, Elizabeth Cowlye, the daughter of Richard Cowlye. Halliwell.

She was named, as will be observed presently, after her mother, and they seem to have had no more children.

When Richard Cowley quitted the company of which Alleyn was the leader, and Henslowe the manager, we can give no information: it was some time before 1602, because in March of that year John Heminge and Richard Cowley represented the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received £30 as payment for performances at Court. As it appears to be the only extant memorandum of the kind, in which the name of Cowley occurs, we may here quote it:[1]—

> To John Hemynges and Richard Cowley, servauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councells Warrant, dated at Whitehall, 31 March, 1601[2], for three playes showed before her highnes on St. Stephen's day at night, Twelfth day at night, and Shrovetuesday at night ..... xxx[li]

This distinction serves to show that Cowley was then a man at least of standing, if not of eminence in the association, which very shortly afterwards, on the accession of James I., obtained the patent as the King's players: among the names included in it, though it comes last, is that of Richard Cowley. In an enumeration of the same company, which must have been drawn up posterior to 9th April, 1604, Cowley has two actors below him, Hostler (or Ostler) and Day, who perhaps had only very recently been taken as recruits into the association.[2] When Cowley had first attached himself to the Lord Chamberlain's players, it is impossible, as observed above, to decide, but his name is not found to the memorial for the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre in 1596: it is, however, likely that that document was only presented by the principal persons in the association.

Although Cowley survived for a considerable period after

[1] Extracts from the Revels' Accounts by P. Cunningham, Esq. Introduction, p. xxxiii.

[2] See p. 136; and Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 68.

the grant of the patent of 1603, and remained on the stage the whole of his life, it is singular that his name does not occur in any list of the actors of the plays of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatists of the time; and but for the accident already explained, we should not have known that he was Verges in "Much Ado about Nothing." His wife died before him, (a fact with which previous biographers were not acquainted) for we find her burial thus registered at St. Leonard's:—

1616. Elizabeth Cowly, the wife of Richard Cowly, was buried the 28 September.—Halliwell Street.

Halliwell Street was therefore still their residence, although Cowley, like Richard Burbadge and some others, during about twenty years of his life, had daily to discharge his theatrical duties at the Blackfriars, or at the Globe on the Bankside.

Chalmers tells us that Cowley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, "on the 13th March, 1618, three days before the great Burbadge finished his career in the same cemetery:" if the 13th March had been the correct date, Cowley would have been interred on the very day Burbadge expired, but the fact is that the burial of Cowley took place, not on the day stated by Chalmers, but on the day before the death of Burbadge,[1] as appears by the subsequent entry in the register:—

1618. Richard Cowly, player, was buried the 12th of March.—Halliwell Street.

No will by Cowley has been discovered in the Prerogative Office after repeated searches, nor does it appear that administration of his effects was granted to any member of his family.

[1] It deserves notice, that although the name of Richard Burbadge (who died on 13th March, 1618-19) is included in the confirmation of the patent of 1603 to the King's players, dated 27th March, 1619, the name of Richard Cowley (who was buried on the day preceding the death of Burbadge) is not found in it.

Whether he died rich or poor can only be decided upon probabilities; but acting was then a profitable employment, and, as far as we can judge, Cowley, though by no means eminent in the profession, as a regular, careful man, may have accumulated property in the course of the thirty years that he can be traced upon the stage. His son Cuthbert and his daughter Elizabeth most likely survived their parents, (for we meet with no notices of their burial) and amicably divided what he left behind him.

JOHN LOWIN.

This eminent performer,[1] who long survived the suppression of theatrical representations on the breaking out of the civil wars, was the son of Richard Lowin, and was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1576. The following entry is contained in the register, among the baptisms:—

John Lowen, the sone of Richard Lowen. 9 December, 1576.

Malone correctly calculated, from the date upon Lowin's portrait in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that he was born in that year; but neither he nor Chalmers went to the records we have consulted, or they might have ascertained the time and place with precision. From other entries it appears that Richard Lowin, the father of our actor, was a carpenter; but there was another carpenter of the name of John Lowin in the same neighbourhood, and he may have been the brother of Richard Lowin, and the person after whom John Lowin, the actor, was baptized. We have not been able to discover any entry of the marriage of Richard Lowin, but it

[1] His name is spelt in four different ways: it is Lowine in the list preceding the folio of 1623; Lowen in the register of his birth, and in two of the entries in Henslowe's "Diary;" Lowyn in another memorandum in the same volume; and Lowin at the end of Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," 1603, as well as in various other places. Malone (Inquiry, p. 250) asserts that the name was "never spelt Lowine;" a strange oversight, when it is so spelt in the list prefixed to the folio of 1623: he adds, that it was sometimes spelt Lewen, but this is probably a mistake, arising from Malone having confounded Dr. Lewen and his family with John Lowin, the actor. See, however, the end of the present memoir.

must have taken place before 1574, because in that year he had a daughter christened

Susan Lowen, daughter of Richard Lowen. 25 April, 1574.

Susan Lowin was of course the elder sister of our actor, who had a brother William born in 1581, as we find by the subsequent entry in the same registers:

William Lowen, the sonne of Richard Lowen. 28 May, 1581.

We do not meet with the mention of any other children by Richard Lowin; but John Lowin, whom we suppose to have been brother to Richard, had a daughter christened on 9th November, 1586. A William Lowin, who had a son Christopher baptized on 19th August, 1576, is also mentioned in the registers of St. Giles, and it is not unlikely that he was a near relative of the same family, after whom William Lowin, the son of Richard, was named in 1581.

Where and how John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, was educated we have not the slightest information, nor do we at all know in what way he became connected with the stage. Alleyn and Henslowe constructed their theatre, the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in 1599: it was opened for performances soon afterwards; and the first we hear of Lowin, as a player, is in November, 1602, when there is no doubt he was in Henslowe's pay. Malone notices the last of the subsequent extracts from Henslowe's "Diary," but he omits the two others, which perhaps he failed to discover, and which would have contributed to his purpose, by showing that Lowin was a member of the Earl of Worcester's company of players six months before the period Malone assigns to that circumstance. We give the following exactly as they stand in the original record of Henslowe's transactions, printed by the Shakespeare Society:—

Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr, 1602, unto Mr. Smyth, the some of ..... x^{s}.

Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr, 1602, unto harey Chettell, the some of ..... iijs.

Lent unto John Lowyn, the 12 of Marche, 1602, when he went into the contrey with his company to playe, in Redy mony, the some of v^{s}.

March, 1602, was March, 1602-3, according to the usual division of the year at that period, and was of course subsequent to November, 1602, to which the previous memoranda refer.[1] They show that in the autumn of 1602, Henslowe advanced to Lowin, then a player in the association of the Earl of Worcester's servants, two sums of ten shillings and five shillings, that he might give them to Wentworth Smith and Henry Chettle, on account of dramas then in hand by those poets: in the spring of the following year the company broke up in London, and went from the Fortune theatre into the country to carry on their performances. In December, 1602, Lowin completed his twenty-sixth year: how long he had then been on the stage we have no authority to prove, but it seems not unnatural to suppose that the erection of the new playhouse in the parish where he was born, and probably brought up, had induced him to take to the theatre as a profession, instead of following his father's business. If so, he did not become connected with the stage until he was considerably more than of full age. The position he occupied in November, 1602, as negociator, or medium, between Henslowe and dramatic authors, seems, however, to indicate that he was even then prominent in the company. Various players of much older claims were not so employed.

Not long afterwards, he became a member of the company called the King's players:[2] he was an actor with Shakespeare and six others in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," produced, as

[1] Henslowe's Diary, pp. 234, 244.

[2] But he kept up his intimacy with Alleyn many years after the latter had retired from the stage. Lowin not unfrequently dined with Alleyn, at his College in Dulwich, between 1619 and 1622. "Mem. of Alleyn, p. 154.

the poet informs us, in the year 1603, by that association; but his name is not found in the patent of May, 1603, and he could hardly have been included in the general terms, there used, of "the rest of their associates." We have no doubt that he joined the King's players between May, 1603, and the particular date, whatever it might be, when "Sejanus" was represented for the first time.[1] He is also one of the actors introduced, with Burbadge and Condell, in his own person into the induction to Marston's "Malcontent," printed in 1604, although he has not much of the dialogue assigned to him:[2] there is no doubt that he had a share in the performance of the body of that drama, but what share it is impossible to determine. These particulars, however, seem to establish that he was not, even then, an inferior member of the company; and we shall soon find that he became one of the principal sharers in it.

In the year 1607, Lowin appeared before the world quite in a new character—that of an author: it is a circumstance not hitherto pointed out, but we have it upon very conclusive evidence. The production is merely a small, *ad captandum* tract, not in itself dramatic, although on a subject connected with the stage, and it has the following title:—

"Conclusions upon Dances, both of this Age and of the Olde. Newly composed and set forth by an Out-landish Doctor. London, Printed for John Orphinstrange, and are to be solde at his shop neere Holborne Bridge. 1607." 4to.

[1] It deserves notice, however, that when Henslowe, or some person in his employ, was making out a list of "the King's Company," after April, 1604, the name of Lowin is not included. See p. 136, and "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 68. The omission, though singular, must have been merely accidental, for there can be no doubt that Ben Jonson would not have included Lowin as one of the performers in "Sejanus" if he had not acted in it. Here we have positive evidence against negative testimony.

[2] See pp. 26 and 154 of the present volume.

It consists of only thirteen leaves, and the main object (excepting that perhaps of raising a temporary supply of money) was to vindicate dancing from the attacks of the Puritans, which had commenced even before the publication of Northbrooke's Treatise, in 1577.[1] The dedication is as follows:—

To the Right Honorable Lord, my Lord Dennie.

My Lord, when I make a dedication of some writing of mine, it is not for to follow the common and ordinarie proceedings of other writers, but onely because I see such a deed to have beene effected by the evangelist S. Luke, which dedicated his writings to that great man, most honorable Theophilus. The certainty wherof doth manifestlie appeare about the beginning of his Gospell, as also in the entrance of his other booke, commonly called The Acts of the Apostles. And now I dedicate these, my conclusions upon dances, to your Lordship, because I was once mooved to speake of them in your Lordship's companie: which matter I could not then handle so pertinently, in speach, as I can at this time in ink and paper. Thus in London, with my praier to God for you, my Lord, the 23 of November. 1606.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

I. L. *Roscio.*

The signature, "I. L. *Roscio*," is of course to be taken as "I. L. *actor*," or John Lowen the player; but we do not attribute the pamphlet to him merely on the strength of these initials and designation, but because a copy of it exists, in the library of a collector, with these words distinctly written upon the title-page, "By Jhon Lowin. Witnesseth Tho. D. 1610." This evidence is therefore sufficiently complete, without supposing, as we may reasonably do, that "Tho. D." means Thomas Dekker, who was a distinguished dramatist for the company to which Lowin had belonged, and in whose plays he had often acted, before he joined the association of which Shakespeare was a member.

[1] "A Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes, &c., are reproved, &c. By John Northbrooke." Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843.

As this production, on many accounts of little worth, is of value on account of its rarity and its authorship, we shall venture to make a brief quotation from one of its later divisions, which is thus headed:—

OF THE ORDINARIE DANCES, USED EVERIE WHERE IN THESE DAYS.

Now that we have handled the *Dances* of the old Age, shall wee make evident in few lines what wee thinke of the *Dances* of our dayes? These *Dances* (I speake of the greater part of them) doe seeme unto our judgement to be partly vaine, and partly prophane. Vaine, because neither men nor women are able to attaine unto the knowledge and practise of the art of such *Dancing*, without vexation of the Spirit, and losse of time. Prophane, because in the old age the women *danced* to this intent, that thereby their spirituall Songes and Divine prayses should waxe more fervent, and consequently become more acceptable unto GOD: whereas, now very often, in a great many places, among the Christians themselves, not onely the women, but also the men doe *dance* to please the world. Notwithstanding, God alone is hee which seeth their heartes and intentions; and without difficultie it may be that our conjectures are not sufficiently ludicious.

The vexation of the Spirit is so much spoken against by that wise *Salomon*, in his Booke of *Eccleliastes*, that it is a wonderfull thing to see so many, and so many againe, that never keepe themselves from the tearing clawes of that monster. And the losse of time might be better avoyded, if men would but note the admonition of the Apostle *S. Paul*, in the 5 Chap. of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where hee biddeth them *Redeeme the time:* when hee admonisheth them *To walk circumspectedly, not as Fooles, but as Wise, and to understand what the will of the Lord is.*

Moreover, many of these *Dances* are so much artificiall, (at the least, within our cogitations, and within the cogitations of some other persons which have also observed in the holy histories of the old Testament, the manner of *dancing* practised among the *Israelitish* women that lived in the feare of God) many of these dances (I say) are so much artificiall, that the humaine minds can not be intended nor attentive to the art of *dancing* and to the prayse of God together.

This extract is not more disappointing than the whole pamphlet, which contains no information respecting the particular dances then used on or off the stage, matters with which Lowin must have been well acquainted. Before 1606 the prevalence of the plague in London had much reduced the emoluments of actors, and we may conclude that Lowin resorted to the press, and availed himself of his popularity as an actor, for the purpose of supplying his temporary necessities.

It may appear difficult to account for the apparently sudden change in his circumstances between 1606 and 1608, had we not ascertained (a fact unknown to Malone and Chalmers) that he married in less than a year after the date of the dedication we have above inserted: the object of his choice was a widow of the name of Hall, and there is reason to believe that she must have been sufficiently well provided for by her late husband. The ceremony was performed in the church of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, a parish near to that in which Lowin and his family had, as we have shown, resided: the entry in the register is in the subsequent form:—

John Lowen and Joane Hall, widow, were married the 29 of October, 1607, p licent. ex officio facultatum.

The license may have been obtained in order to gratify the wealthy widow Hall; and it was by no means usual for actors to incur this additional expense. Whether they had children does not appear from any of the parish records we have been able to consult: no offspring was baptized at any of the churches in the neighbourhood of our theatres; and it is by no means impossible that a widow of an advanced age fell in love with our young actor, and married him, he of course being reconciled to the union by her money.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that Lowin did not quit the stage in consequence of his marriage, but with the property he acquired he appears to have become just afterwards a considerable sharer in the company of the King's players.

About the year 1608 an estimate was made of the value of the Blackfriars theatre, and of the interests of the different parties concerned in it; and by a document which has been preserved we find, that the receipts of the playhouse were divided into twenty shares, and that Lowin was the owner of a share and a half. The value of the share and a half is stated to be £350 in money of that time, and it would ascend to not far short of £1000 in money of the present day.

Although the circumstances of Lowin might be indifferent in November, 1606, when he wrote his "Conclusions upon Dances," we apprehend that he had become a sharer in the Blackfriars and Globe theatres in 1608, in consequence of means supplied by his wife. Nevertheless, we shall see that later in life, perhaps long after the death of Mrs. Lowin, (of whom we hear no more, not having been able to discover even the registration of her burial) he was put to the severest straits to obtain subsistence.

Not long subsequent to his marriage he seems to have taken a house in the liberty of the Clink, Southwark, very near to the Globe theatre, where the company to which he was attached performed from about April to October in each year. The poor-rate he was charged was at the rate of two pence per week, but many others paid only one penny per week, although Henslowe, Alleyn, Shakespeare, and a few more, contributed six pence per week, and some others three pence and four pence per week. Lowin paid as much as Francis Carter, the overseer of the Liberty,[1] so that we need not doubt that his habitation was sufficiently commodious.

The token-books at St. Saviour's, to which we have already been indebted for minute information regarding the residence of actors, show that Lowin, in 1609, lived "near the playhouse," although we are not told which of the several playhouses was intended: he was in the same situation in

[1] See "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 91.

1612, 1615, and 1616, but after that date he perhaps removed from the neighbourhood, as his name does not again occur in the token-books until 1627, when he was in "Bradford's Rents." From 1633 to 1642, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, he was in what are called "Mr. Brooker's Tenements." At this period, the civil wars, and the triumphant hostility of the Puritans, put a stop to theatrical performances.

It will be fit now to state what we know, or may be conjectured, respecting the characters Lowin sustained in plays of the time, especially in those of Shakespeare, bearing in mind, however, that he did not join the association of King James's players until after May, 1603. We have already mentioned his appearance in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" in 1603, and in Marston's "Malcontent" in 1604: there is no doubt also that he appeared in 1605 in "Volpone," in 1610 in "The Alchemist," and in 1611 in "Catiline:" he likewise took a part in "Epicœne;" but, of course, not when it was originally produced, in 1609, by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, speaks of Lowin's celebrity in these characters, adding two others, Falstaff and Melantius: old Trueman is telling Lovewit what he remembered of the stage before the silencing of the theatres in 1642, observing, "In my time, before the wars, Lowin used to act with mighty applause Falstaff, Morose, Volpone, Mammon in The Alchemist, and Melantius in The Maid's Tragedy." It may be concluded that he was the original Volpone and Mammon; but he could not have been the original Morose, because "Epicœne" was brought out by a rival company, and Melantius he could only have taken after the death of Burbadge: in the same way he could only have been Falstaff after the character had been relinquished by Heminge, or some older performer. The last play in which Falstaff figures is "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and it is quite certain that it was written, acted,

and printed before Lowin belonged to the company by which it was produced.[1]

Besides "The Maid's Tragedy," in which Lowin's original part must have been Amintor, and not Melantius,[2] he appeared in many of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and no doubt retained his characters as long as theatres were allowed to be kept open; but only two of them can, we believe, be assigned to him with certainty, viz.: Aubrey in "The Bloody Brother," and Belleur in "The Wild Goose Chase." He was Eubulus in Massinger's "Picture," Domitian in the same poet's "Roman Actor," Bosola in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," both originally and on its revival, and Jacomo in Carlell's "Deserving Favourite." These, we think, are all the characters Lowin is ascertained to have undertaken.

The earliest date at which Lowin's name is met with in any patent, or license to players, is 27th March, 1619, when James I. granted to his company a confirmation of the patent of 1603. The names there stand thus, omitting Burbadge, who was just dead—Heminge, Condell, Lowin, Tooley, Underwood, Field, &c.; so that, at all events, our actor filled a distinguished place in the enumeration, and he still occupied it in 1625, when Charles I. came to the throne, and renewed the concession made by his father: in the list of thirteen per-

[1] Roberts the player, in his "Answer to Pope," states, that Lowin was also Henry VIII. and Hamlet. Whatever may have been the fact as to the first, we are quite certain that Roberts was wrong as to the second, if he meant that Lowin was the original Hamlet. Burbadge was the first Hamlet, Taylor the second, and if Lowin played the part at all, it could only be after Taylor had resigned it. Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, informs us, that Betterton was instructed how to act Henry VIII. by Sir W. Davenant, "who had it from old Mr. Lowin, that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespeare himself." This was the authority upon which Roberts made his assertion in 1729.

[2] Wright tells us, that when Lowin played Melantius, Stephen Hammerton was the Amintor.—*Historia Histrionica*. 1699. 8vo.

formers Lowin's name is third, preceded only by the veterans of the stage, Heminge and Condell, and followed by Taylor, Robinson, Benfield, and the rest of the association.

Lowin does not appear to have had any ostensible concern in the management of the company, until, as we suppose, Heminge and Condell quitted the stage, as actors, about 1623: then his name is met with, associated with that of Taylor, in the accounts of the office of the Revels, as representing the King's players when they were paid for dramatic performances at court.[1] Subsequent to the deaths of Condell in 1627, and of Heminge in 1630, it is quite clear that Taylor and Lowin, for Taylor's name sometimes comes first in the warrants, were the recognized heads of the association. Such, however, was not the case on 6th May, 1629, when an order was issued for delivering from the royal wardrobe the usual quantity of cloth and velvet for the cloaks and capes of the King's players: Lowin's name precedes that of Taylor in 1634, when £220 were paid to the leaders of the company for twenty-two plays acted before the King and court. In that instance we find, what was rather extraordinary, a third name introduced into the warrant, that of Eliard Swanston, who had come into the company prior to 1624, and who about nine years afterwards incurred with Lowin the especial

[1] Alexander Gill wrote his scurrilous verses on Ben Jonson and his "Magnetic Lady" in 1632, and at the end of them Lowin and Taylor are thus mentioned as leaders of the stage:—

> "Fall then to work in thy old age again,
> Take up your trug and trowel, gentle Ben:
> Let plays alone—and if thou needs will write,
> And thrust thy feeble muse into the light,
> Let Lowin cease, and Taylor feare to touch
> The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such."

This poem may be seen at length in Gifford's "Ben Jonson," vi., 123. Part of it had been quoted by Langbaine in 1691, and there (p. 292) Ben Jonson's reply may also be found.

anger of the Master of the Revels for acting the old, uncorrected, and unpurged copy of "The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed." The information we possess on this subject applies to the autumn of 1633, and it was extracted by Malone from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert: we subjoin all that relates to this period:—

On Friday, the 19th of October, 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress "The Tamer Tamed" to the King's players for that afternoon; and it was obeyed, upon complaint of foul and offensive matters contained therein: they acted "The Scornful Lady" instead of it. I have entered the warrant here:—

"These are to will and require you to forbear the acting of your play, called 'The Tamer Tamed, or the Taming of the Tamer,' this afternoon, or any more till you have leave from me: and this at your peril.

"On Friday morning, the 18th October, 1633.

"To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowin, or any of the
King's players at the Blackfriars."

On Saturday morning following the book was brought to me, and at my Lord Holland's request I returned it to the players the Monday morning after, purged of oaths, profaneness, and ribaldry, being the 21st of October, 1633.

On the same occasion, Sir Henry Herbert directed the following note (written upon the play sent to him) to a person of the name of Knight, who was the prompter (or, as he was also called, book-keeper, and book-holder) of the company:—

Mr. Knight,

In many things you have saved me labour, yet, where your judgment or pen failed you, I have made bold to use mine. Purge their parts, as I have the book, and I hope every hearer and player will think that I have done God good service, and the quality no wrong; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, profaneness, and public ribaldry, which for the future I do absolutely forbid to be presented unto me in any playbook, as you will answer it at your peril.

21st October, 1633.

It appears from the rest of Sir Henry Herbert's memorandum, that Lowin and Eliard Swanston were the principal offenders in the objectionable representation of "The Tamer Tamed." What parts they had we know not, but six days after the performance had been forbidden they made their submission to the Master of the Revels, and were forgiven: the memorandum in the Office-book is in this form:—

"The 24th October, 1633, Lowin and Swanston were sorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in the presence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeildo."

There is no list of actors appended to either edition of "The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed;" but we may infer that Joseph Taylor and Robert Benfield, who were present when Lowin and Swanston "craved the pardon" of Sir Henry Herbert, had not been concerned in the representation of it in 1633: they do not seem to have been included in the displeasure of the Master of the Revels.[1]

We are aware of no other theatrical event in the life of Lowin, but the publication by him and Taylor, in 1652, of Fletcher's "Wild Goose Chase," in which they had been the original actors of the characters of Mirabel and Belleur about

[1] Such had not been the case nine years before, when all the company was in disgrace for having acted a play called "The Spanish Viceroy," without having first obtained the permission of the Master of the Revels: he required the signatures of the whole body to the following acknowledgment of their offence.

"To Sir Henry Herbert, K^t^, Master of his Ma^ties^ Revels.

"After our humble service remembered unto your good worship. Whereas not long since we acted a play called 'The Spanish Viceroy,' not being licensed under your worship's hand, nor allowed of: we do confess and hereby acknowledge that we have offended, and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it; and do likewise promise hereby, that we will not act any play without your hand or substitute's hereafter, nor do anything that may prejudice the authority of your office. So, hoping that this humble submission of

the year 1621. The comedy had been lost when the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works was printed in 1647,[1] and it was "retrieved" afterwards "by a person of honour, for the public delight of all the ingenious, and the private benefit" of Lowin and Taylor, who thus raised a small sum to relieve their necessities. In their dedication "to the honoured few lovers of dramatic poesy" they say, "'Tis not unknown to you all, how by a cruel destiny we have a long time been mute and bound, although our miseries have been sufficiently clamorous and expanded, yet, till this happy opportunity, never durst vex your open ears and hands, but this, we're confident of, will be the surest argument for your nobleness. What an ingenious person of quality once spake of his amours, we apply to our necessities:—

> 'Silence in love betrays more woe
> Than words, though ne'er so witty:
> The beggar that is dumb, you know,
> Deserves a double pity.'"

ours may be accepted, we have thereunto set our hands, this twentieth of December, 1624.

JOSEPH TAYLOR.	JOHN LOWEN.
RICHARD ROBINSON.	JOHN SHANCKE.
ELYARD SWANSTON.	JOHN RICE.
THOMAS POLLARD.	WILL. ROWLEY.
ROBERT BENFEILDE.	RICHARD SHARPE."
GEORGE BURGHT.	

If this apology were dictated by the Master of the Revels, he committed a droll oversight when he made the players say, "and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it:" no doubt they were sorry that the Master had the power to punish it. Earlier in 1624 the same company had even more seriously offended, by performing Middleton's "Game at Chess," which was perhaps connected in subject, both that and "The Spanish Viceroy" relating to Gondomar and the court.

[1] This edition purports to have been put forth by ten player-editors, and the names of Lowin and Taylor are at the head of the list.

It seems likely that Lowin had invested the property he obtained with his wife, the widow Hall, in 1607, in the theatres in which he was concerned, and, of course, by the suppression of the stage, it was all swept away and annihilated. Wright, speaking of the circumstances under which Lowin and Taylor printed "The Wild Goose Chase," adds, "whatever they were before the wars, they were afterwards reduced to a necessitous condition."[1] By the same historian of our old stage we are also informed, that "Lowin, in his latter days, kept an inn, the Three Pidgeons, at Brentford, where he died very old." Malone tells us that Wright "was mistaken with respect to the place of Lowin's death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, March 18, 1658-9.[2] On the 8th of the following October, administration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the actor's widow." If she were his widow, she must have been Lowin's second wife, for his first wife's name was Joan.

Chalmer's repeats Malone's statement regarding the death and burial of Lowin, although he would willingly have contradicted it, had he possessed the means of detecting an error; but we may point out, as a remarkable coincidence in date and name, that on 16th March, 1668-9, a John Lowen (so spelt) was interred at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, where the following registration is met with among the burials:—

16 March, 1668-9, Mr. John Lowen."

If this could have been John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, he was not eighty-three, but ninety-three, at at the time of his death.

[1] *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

[2] The name is spelt Lewin in the register, a circumstance Malone omitted to mention:—

"18 Martij 1658 and 1659. Johanes Lewin, vir."

SAMUEL CROSSE.

We have not been able to discover anything relative to the family, birth, or performances of this actor. The sirname was common in Blackfriars and Cripplegate,[1] as well as in Shoreditch and Southwark; but neither there, nor elsewhere, have we met with any mention of a Samuel Crosse.

It may be doubted whether the Samuel Crosse, who was one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays, were the Crosse thus mentioned, among others, by Thomas Heywood, in 1612, as before his time—

> To omit all the doctors, zanies, pantaloons, harlequins, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have been excellent, and, according to the occasion offered, to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mills, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others; these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witness of their desert) give them that applause which, no doubt, they worthily merit.[2]

We know from Henslowe's "Diary"[3] that Heywood was connected with the stage as early as 1596, if not earlier; and it seems, therefore, improbable that he should not have seen the Crosse who acted characters drawn by Shakespeare, and whose name is therefore inserted in the list preceding the folio of 1623. There might be two performers of that name,

[1] John Crosse was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, 23rd September, 1569; and Catherine, daughter of John Crosse, was christened at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 15th April, 1582.

[2] "An Apology for Actors," 1612, Sign. E, 2 b: Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43.

[3] Printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

as there were two Wilsons, both named Robert, and two Burbadges, James and Richard, father and son.

It is very clear, from the companions of Crosse in Heywood's enumeration, that he was a comedian, and probably a low comedian; but, if it were the same man who acted in the plays of our great dramatist, we have no clue to any of the parts he sustained. We know of no other mention of, or allusion to him, in any author of the time, nor does his name occur in any extant list of the members of particular companies. Supposing that there were not two actors of the name, Samuel Crosse must have been dead before Heywood became acquainted with the stage: as to his merits, and those of the other players he speaks of, Heywood adds,

> By the reports of many judicial auditors, their performances of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kind of sin to drown their worths in Lethe, and not commit their almost forgotten names to eternity.

This sentence, it is to be remembered, was published in 1612. No will by Samuel Crosse, nor administration to his effects, was discovered by Malone or Chalmers, and our inquiries have been equally fruitless.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

Malone conjectured that the name of Saunder, which often occurs among the actors of Tarlton's "Second part of the Seven Deadly Sins," was meant for Alexander Cooke, and he is censured by Chalmers for not having been aware that Saunder was a distinct person and a player: yet Chalmers himself fell into the same error, and concluded that Cooke had been "the heroine of the stage even before the year 1589." The fact is that the name of Cooke does not occur at all in the "plat" of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," and there can be little doubt that "Saunder" was not intended to designate him.

This circumstance gets rid of a difficulty that does not appear to have struck Malone or Chalmers, that if Cooke acted female parts as early as 1588, he still continued the representative of such characters many years afterwards, viz., in 1603, when Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" was brought out, and in 1605, when his "Volpone" was first performed: it is, to say the least of it, unlikely that the same man should be "the heroine of the stage" in 1588 and 1605. In both the plays we have named Alexander Cooke was called upon to act; and although we cannot assert positively, with Chalmers, that "he acted as a woman in Ben Jonson's Sejanus and in The Fox," because we have nothing much better than conjecture to support us, yet Cooke's name occupies such a place, in the list of performers at the end of each, as to make it probable that he was Agrippina in the tragedy, and Fine-madam Would-be in

the comedy.[1] Our opinion is, that he had outgrown his female characters in 1610, when "The Alchemist" was first played, and in 1611, when "Catiline" was originally acted: in both these Cooke had characters, but the place his name occupies in the list supplied by the author is entirely changed: it stands fourth in "The Alchemist," and second in "Catiline," and not last, as in the two former instances.[2]

Concluding, therefore, that "Saunder" of the plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" was not Alexander Cooke, the first we hear of him is in October, 1603, in the postscript to a letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband, then in the country, where she speaks of several other actors who desired to be remembered to Alleyn: among them, "Cooke and his wife in the kindest sort" commended themselves to him. They lived in Southwark, from whence Mrs. Alleyn wrote, and there their first child was baptized in 1605. The entry in the register at St. Saviour's specifies that the father of the boy was a player.

1605. October 27. Frauncis Cooke, son of Alexander, a player.

[1] Malone, like Chalmers, is very decisive in his assertion that Alexander Cooke not only "acted some woman's part" in "Sejanus" and "Volpone," but that he "performed all the principal female characters in Shakespeare's plays." All that he knew, or conjectured, respecting our actor, is comprised in these two sentences, in one of which he was decidedly wrong, and in the other there is no evidence that he was right:—

"From the plat of the Seven Deadly Sins [i.e., the *second part* of that dramatic performance] it appears that this actor was on the stage before 1588, and was the stage-heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's Sejanus and in the Fox; and, we may presume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays."—Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 211.

[2] Alexander Cooke is also in the list of actors preceding Beaumont and Fletcher's "Captain," which, had we not other evidence on the point, would establish that it was acted before February, 1614.

Malone and Chalmers, though they consulted these parish records, took no notice of this and other memoranda of the same description: in all probability, they never saw them, or they would have quoted or referred to some of them, and not have supposed that "Saunder," of 1588, was Alexander Cooke, whose eldest child was born seventeen years afterwards. The registers contain no mention of the marriage of Cooke, but it is obvious that he was married, and perhaps newly married, in October, 1603, when Mrs. Alleyn wrote to her husband.

The token-books of the same parish enable us to state, that in 1604 Alexander Cooke lived in Hill's Rents; and he continued to occupy the same house in 1607, 1609, and 1610, and perhaps died in it, although these curious and minute documents are deficient, as applied to that particular district, in 1611, 1612, 1613, and 1614. Cooke, with various Christian appellations, was a very common name; and the token-book of 1605 states that William Cooke, probably no relation to Alexander though near neighbours, was "in the Clink" prison, and therefore absent from his dwelling-house.

On 11th October, 1607, Alexander Cooke had another daughter baptized Rebecca[1] at his parish church; and a third child, Alice, was not born until 1611, having been baptized on 3rd November of that year. These, according to the registers at St. Saviour's, were all the offspring of Alexander Cooke and his wife during the life of the father, for he was buried on the 25th February, 1613-14, and left his wife very near her time with their fourth child, which was born in March

[1] She was perhaps named after an aunt, who was married in 1614 to an actor of the name of Turner: the fact appears from the register of St. Saviour's:—

"1614, July 14. Robert Turner to Rebecca Cooke."

There were several Turners on the stage about the same time, but this was perhaps the "Mr. Turner" mentioned by Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, p. 18) as having acted under Rhodes at the Cockpit, before the Restoration.

1613-14, and was christened Alexander: the registration is in these terms, recording also that the father was dead:—

"1613, March 20. Alexander Cooke, son of Alexander, a player, deceased."[1]

Chalmers asserts without qualification, and adducing no authority, that Alexander Cooke, the father, "died in April, 1614:" this was merely his conjecture, from the fact that Cooke's will, made in January, was not proved by the widow until May, 1614; but in the interval she had been brought to bed of the son with whom she was left *enceinte*. Neither Chalmers nor Malone saw the subsequent entry of the interment of Alexander Cooke, less than a month before his wife was confined:—

"1613, Feb. 25. Alexander Cooke, a man, in the church."

This is the first and only instance in which Cooke's profession is not stated in the register.

Whatever were the parentage of Cooke, of which we know nothing, he was one of a numerous family: he mentions two brothers and five sisters in his will. His two brothers were named Ellis and John; and it never seems to have occurred to previous biographers, that John Cooke was, very possibly, no other than the author of a very celebrated comedy, which, in the only known early editions, (one without date, and the other printed in 1614) is called, after the popular performer of the chief part in it, "Greene's Tu Quoque."[2] Nothing is known of the origin or connexions of John Cooke, who, as far as we can ascertain, left no other dramatic work behind him, but a collection of epigrams was entered in his name at Stationers' Hall in 1604. The comedy is highly laughable, was

[1] This son was married at St. Saviour's in 1636 to Elizabeth Whiting, the union being thus recorded:—

"29 April, 1636. Alexander Cooke and Elizabeth Whiting."

[2] It is inserted in vol. vii. of "Dodsley's Old Plays," last edition.

acted at court twice in 1612,[1] and must have been very acceptable to the audiences at the Red Bull theatre, where Greene was a favourite performer.[2]

Alexander Cooke wrote his will with his own hand, although, as he states, "sick of body" at the time it bears date, rather more than six weeks before his death. From the contents of it he seems to have been in moderate circumstances: he gave each of his two children £50, which two sums he kept in one purse in a cupboard; and to his child, then unborn, £50 more, which was in the hands of his "fellows," the members of the King's company of players, "as his share of the stock." These sums he entreated "his master Heminge" (as if he had been a theatrical apprentice to him) Henry Condell, and a person of the name of Francis Caper, "to take into their hands," in order that they might be lodged in Grocers' Hall (of which company, it will be recollected, Heminge was

[1] See Mr. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," p. 211, whence it appears that it was called "The City Gallant," as well as "Greene's Tu Quoque." "The City Gallant" was most likely its original title, until Greene, by acting the character of Bubble so humorously, gave it a new name.

[2] Witness the following quotation from the play:—

"*Geraldine.* Why then we'll go to the Red Bull: they say Greene's a good clown.

"*Bubble.* Greene! Greene's an ass.

"*Scattergood.* Wherefore do you say so?

"*Bubble.* Indeed I ha' no reason, for they say he is as like me as ever he can look."—D. O. P., vol. vii., p. 57, last edition.

Thus we see that the practice of making actors commend, and comment upon, themselves in the course of a play is not so modern as might be imagined. Thomas Heywood caused the comedy to be printed in 1614, when both the author and the actor were dead: Alexander Cooke's brother John, we may believe, was dead when Alexander made his will, which adds to the possibility (we do not say probability) that John was the author of "Greene's Tu Quoque."

a member), for greater security. The will is dated 3rd January, 1613-14; and, as we have stated, it was proved by the widow on the 4th May, 1614. It is in these terms:—

In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste. I, Alexander Cooke, sick of body, but in perfect minde, doe with mine owne hand write my last will and testament. First, I bequeathe my soule into the hands of God, my deer Saviour Jesus Christ, who bought it and payd for it deerly with his blood on the crosse; next, my body to the earthe, to be buryed after the manner of Christian buryall.

Item, I do give and bequeath unto my sonne Francis the some of fifty pounds, to be delivered to him at the age of one and twenty yeeres.

Item, I doe give and bequeath unto my daughter Rebecca the some of fiftye pounds also, to be delivered to hir at the age of seaventeene years, or at hir day of mariage, which it shall please God to bring firste, which somes of money are bothe in one purse in my cuberd.

Item, I doe give and bequeathe unto the childe which my wife now goeth with, the some of fiftye pounds allso, which is in the hand of my fellowes, as my share of the stock, to be delivered, if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a girle at seaventeene, or day of maryage, as before: all whiche somes of moneyes I doe intreate my Master Hemings, Mr. Cundell, and Mr. Frances Caper (for God's cause) to take into their hands, and see it safiye put into Grocers Hall, for the use and bringinge up of my poore orphants.

Item, I doe further give and bequeathe unto my daughter Rebecca the windowe cushens made of needle worke, together withe the window cloathe, court cuboard cloathe, and chimneye cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke sutable, and greene silke fringe.

If any of my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that the survivers shall have there parte equallye divided to the last. If all my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my brother Ellis, or his children, shall have one halfe of all; the other halfe to be thus divided: to my five sisters, or theire children, tenn pounds apiece amongst them, my brother John's daughter other tenne pounds, the reste to my wife if she live then, if not to Ellis and his. If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no childe of his body, my will is, it shall all be equally distributed amongst my sisters and the children of

there bodys, only my wive's parte reserved, if she live: my wife paying all charges of my buriall, performing my will in every poynte as I have set downe, my will is she shall injoy and be my full and lawfull executrix [of] all my goods, chattels, moveables, debbts, or whatsoever is mine in all the worlde.

This is my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have set to my hand January the third, 1613. By me,

ALLEX. COOKE.

Chalmers printed the preceding document;[1] but the only fact he supplies connected with the biography of Alexander Cooke is, that Augustine Phillips left him a legacy, as one of his fellow-actors, in 1605. To some he gave "thirty shillings in gold," viz. to Shakespeare, Condell, and Christopher Beeston, who was his "servant;" and to others "twenty shillings in gold," viz. to Laurence Fletcher, Armyn, Cowley, Cooke, and Tooley.

[1] "Apology for the Believers," p. 447.

SAMUEL GILBURNE

Was "unknown" to Malone; and but for the will of Augustine Phillips, which Malone had not seen, we should have been without a single particular regarding him. In May, 1605, he was out of his time, because Phillips calls Gilburne "my late apprentice;" and he bequeaths to him "the sum of forty shillings, and my mouse-coloured velvet hose, and a white taffaty doublet, a black taffaty suit, my purple cloak, sword and dagger, and my base viol."[1] We may infer that Gilburne could play upon the instrument thus left to him by his master and instructor in the business of the stage: we may also conclude that he was a young man, not long out of his articles; but as we never hear of him afterwards upon any other authority, he either died early, or quitted the profession. His name appears in no old list of *dramatis personæ* as a representative of one of the characters; so that, excepting what may be gathered from the fact that he was pupil to Phillips, a comedian, we know not what branch of the profession he followed.

The name of Gilburne does not occur about the required period in the Southwark registers, but it is met with frequently in those of Shoreditch: we there find John, Thomas, William Gilburne, &c., but no Samuel Gilburne. We have looked for it also in vain in Cripplegate, Aldermanbury, and Blackfriars; and our actor probably came from, and died in the country.

[1] See our memoir of Phillips, p. 87 of this volume.

ROBERT ARMIN.

The subsequent extract from "Tarlton's Jests" relates to the introduction of Armin to the stage: as it was published, and re-published, in the life-time of Armin, we may perhaps place the more confidence in the general accuracy of the statement. It is headed, "How Tarlton made Armin his adopted son, to succeed him."

Tarlton keeping a tavern in Gracechurch Street, he let it to another, who was indebted to Armin's master, a goldsmith in Lombard Street, yet he himself had a chamber in the same house; and this Armin, being then a wag, came often thither to demand his master's money, which he sometimes had, and sometimes had not. In the end, the man, growing poor, told the boy he had no money for his master, and he must bear with him. The man's name being Charles, Armin made this verse, writing it with chalk on a wainscoat:—

O world! why wilt thou lye?
Is this Charles the great? That I deny:
Indeed, Charles the great before,
But now Charles the less, being poor.[1]

Tarlton, coming into the room, reading it, and partly acquainted with the boy's humour, coming often thither for his master's money, took a piece of chalk, and wrote this rhyme by it:—

"A wag thou art; none can prevent thee,
And thy desert shall content thee.
Let me devine.—As I am
So in time thou'lt be the same:
My adopted son therefore be,
To enjoy my clown's suit after me."

[1] Oldys, in his MS. notes upon Langbaine, tells us, on the supposed authority of "Tarlton's Jests," that the tavern-keeper's name was Charles Tarlton, but this is clearly a mistake.

And see how it fell out. The boy, reading this, so loved Tarlton after, that regarding him with more respect, he used to his plays, and fell in a league with his humour: and private practice brought him to present playing, and at this hour performs the same, where, at the Globe on the Bankside, men may see him.[1]

It has been supposed on this authority that Armin became Tarlton's boy or apprentice, and was instructed by him: such may have been the fact, but the book called "Tarlton's Jests" affords no evidence of it. Armin was apprentice to a goldsmith when he became acquainted with Tarlton, and all we learn is, that Tarlton prophesied that Armin should be his successor in clown's parts, and that the boy, from his personal liking for Tarlton, frequented plays in which Tarlton acted, and admired, if not acquired, his humour: afterwards Armin had an opportunity of displaying his talents at the Globe theatre on the Bankside.

Tarlton, as has been repeatedly stated, died in September, 1588, and how long before that date he had given encouragement to Armin we know not; but his pupil (if such indeed he were) was a mere boy: probably he was not a grown man when he lost his theatrical patron. If we suppose Armin to have been seventeen or eighteen at the death of Tarlton, he was born about 1570 or 1571, consequently an actor of considerable standing in the spring of 1603, when James I. granted the patent to his players, in which the name of Armin comes last but one, preceding that of Richard Cowley.

The first edition of "Tarlton's Jests," now known, bears date in 1611, but there were evidently earlier impressions, and the three parts into which they are divided were separately printed: Thomas Pavior had a license to publish "the *second part* of "Tarlton's Jests" on 4th August, 1600; and Nash mentions them (possibly then consisting only of the *first part*)

[1] "Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory" (edited for the Shake-

as early as 1592, in the following passage, written in answer to Gabriel Harvey, who had accused him of imitating Robert Greene and Tarlton: — "Wherein have I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that I should thanke them for all I have? Is my stile like Green's, or my *jeasts like Tarlton's?*"[1] Some of Tarlton's jests had therefore been printed before Nash wrote, and it is not likely that the appearance of the book would have been delayed long after the death of the principal subject of it.

On the other hand, unless jests were interlarded afterwards, to give an air of novelty to the tract on its re-appearance, the quotation we have above made, respecting the youth of Armin and his subsequent celebrity, establishes that that portion of the publication did not come out, at least, until after the building of the Globe theatre in 1594; for we are there told that private practice brought Armyn to present playing, "and at this hour performs the same, where, *at the Globe on the Bank side*, men may see him." It is not at all unlikely that "jests" were added from time to time, and that an edition, printed very soon after 1588 and containing only a few, would gradually be swelled as materials came to hand: for instance, it is very easy to suppose that Armin himself may have furnished the ground-work of the anecdote relating to his early propensity for the stage. For the sake of his own popularity, Armin may have wished it to be known, that so great a favourite as Tarlton had foretold his success, even while he was only a boy. If Armin had been on the stage when Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" was represented, of course before 1588, his name would most likely have occurred in the list of the performers of that piece.

[1] "Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters and a Convoy of Verses," &c. 1592, 4to. This tract in the next year was called "The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse."—See "The Bridgewater Catalogue," p. 211.

It may be doubted whether he rose to any considerable eminence, at all events at the Globe, until Kemp seceded from the company (then known as the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and afterwards as the King's players), shortly before the opening of the Fortune theatre by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1600, or 1601. Kemp, until then, had been the Dogberry of "Much Ado about Nothing,"[1] a character from which Armin some years subsequently made a quotation,[2] as if it had fallen into his hands after it had been relinquished by Kemp. Such might be the case with other parts, regarding which we have no information; for it is no where mentioned in what plays by Shakespeare, or by any other dramatist, Armin was called upon to perform, with the exception of Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," acted in 1610.

His name appeared early in print, supposing him to be, as he probably was, the Robert Armin who subscribed a preliminary address in prose to "A Brief Resolution of the right Religion," printed in 1590, 8vo. He must have written or put his name to other pieces now lost,[3] for we find him, in 1593, introduced by Gabriel Harvey, with Thomas Deloney and Philip Stubbes, as one of "the common pamphletters of London."[4] Deloney and Stubbes have left enough behind

[1] See our memoir of Kemp in this vol., p. 89.

[2] In the dedicatory epistle to his "Italian Tailor and his Boy," of which we shall say more hereafter.

[3] Verses subscribed R. A. precede Robert Tofte's "Alba, or the Month's Mind of a Melancholy Lover," 1598. "England's Parnassus," 1600, is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight, by R. A.; but it seems to have been generally agreed to assign that collection of "the choisest flowers of our modern poets" to Robert Allot, who was certainly a writer of the time.

[4] "He [Nash] desdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common pamphletters of London."—"Pierce's Supererrogation," 1593, 4to., p. 183.

them to warrant the inclusion of them in Harvey's description ;[1] but the same cannot be said of Armin, and what he wrote of this kind must have perished. In 1604 we again meet with the name of Robert Armin, at the conclusion of a dedicatory letter to Gilbert Dugdale's "True Discourse of the practices of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma. Jeffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall, widdow, and George Fernely," in order to poison a person of the name of Thomas Caldwell, in Cheshire. Gilbert Dugdale was the author of a species of pageant on the coronation of James I., called "Time Triumphant," 1604, 4to.; and Armin acknowledges himself to have been his kinsman in the epistle prefixed to the "True Discourse," &c., 1604, 4to., which we here reprint, as the tract is rare, and because much of the epistle relates personally to our actor. It is addressed—

To the right honourable and his singular good lady, the Lady Mary Chandois,

R. A. wisheth health and everlasting happiness.

My honourable and very good lady, considering my duty to your kind ladyship, and remembering the virtues of your prepared mind, I could do no less but dedicate this strange work to your view, being both

[1] We need not enumerate the titles of Deloney's tracts, novels, and poems, as they may be seen in bibliographical catalogues ; but we may take this opportunity of pointing out two ephemeral publications by Stubbes (the early enemy of theatrical performances, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1583), one of which has only been incidentally and incorrectly noticed, and the other no where mentioned. The first presents him with the appearance of a poet, (appearance only) in a tract called "Two wunderfull and rare Examples" of blasphemers and swearers who were visited by the judgment of God: it was printed in black letter by William Wright without date, and it contains a long exhortatory narrative in rhime, subscribed Philip Stubbes. The second is a prose relation on "The intended Treasons of Doctor Parrie and his Complices," &c. "Imprinted at London for Henry Car," &c., also in black letter, without date, but the event fixes the period at which it must have been published.

matter of moment and truth. And to the whole world it may seem strange, that a gentlewoman so well brought up in God's fear, so well married, so virtuous ever, so suddenly wrought to this act of murder, that when your ladyship doth read as well the letter as the book of her own inditing, you will the more wonder that her virtues could so aptly taste the follies of vice and villainy. But so it was; and, for the better proof that it was so, I have placed my kinsman's name to it, who was present at all her troubles, at her coming to prison, her being in prison, and her going out of prison to execution, that those gentlemen, to whom he dedicates his work, witnessed, may also be partakers in that kind, for the proof thereof, that your ladyship and the world, so satisfied, may admire the deed, and hold it as strange as it is true.

We have many giddy-pated poets, that could have published the report with more eloquence; but truth, in plain attire, is the easier known: let fiction mask in Kendall green. It is my quality to add to the truth, truth, and not leasings to lies.

Your good honor knows Pinck's poor heart,[1] who, in all my service to your late deceased kind lord, never savoured of flattery or fiction, and, therefore, am now the bolder to present to your virtues the view of this late truth, desiring you to so think of it, that you may be an honourable mourner of these obsequies, and you shall no more do than many more have done. So, with my tendered duty, my true ensuing story, and my ever wishing well, I do humbly commit your ladyship to the prison of heaven, wherein is perfect freedom.

Your ladyship's ever,
In duty and service,
ROBERT ARMIN.

It will be recollected that it was in May, preceding the publication of this epistle, that we met with the name of Robert Armin standing last but one in the patent of James I.; and our persuasion is that, if he had not recently joined the

[1] We are no where informed how Armin obtained the nick-name of Pink—perhaps from his Christian name, Robert or Robin: in the same way Robert Tofte, the author of "Alba," before mentioned, was also known as Robin Redbreast. We shall hereafter see, that Armin was called Robin by Davies of Hereford.

company of the King's players in consequence of the secession of Kemp who had attached himself to a rival association, he had somewhat suddenly risen to a station of prominence and importance in the association, by being called upon to perform characters which Kemp had necessarily relinquished — among these Dogberry.

Armin was certainly at one period a member of a company acting under the name and patronage of Lord Chandos, and it will be observed that the letter above quoted is addressed to his lordship's widow, and that Armin talks in it of his services to the late peer. In his "Nest of Ninnies,[1] of which we shall speak farther presently, he introduces some anecdotes relating to the performances of the players of Lord Chandos, and to an ideot called Jack Miller, who was very fond of the clown of the association (probably Armin himself) whom he nicknamed Grumball. Armin does not give the date of these transactions, but it must have been before 1602, because William Bruges, Baron Chandos, died in that year. Armin perhaps quitted that body of actors about 1598, in order to unite himself to the players of the Lord Chamberlain; and it is very evident, from the manner in which, in the same tract, he relates certain incidents which happened to the fool of James VI. of Scotland, that he had been in that country, and an eye-witness of what he narrates. This was probably in the year 1599 or 1600, when a detachment of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, under Laurence Fletcher, was performing north of the Tweed, to the great satisfaction of the king.

Whether Kemp returned to his old parts, when he returned to his old quarters at the Blackfriars and Globe theatres, we cannot state; but it is quite certain that anterior to 1605 he and Armyn were acting together in the same company. This fact is established by the complaint of the Corporation to the

[1] Reprinted in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, from the only extant copy of the original edition of 1608, in the Bodleian Library.

Privy Council, especially directed against Kemp and Armin by name, for bringing upon the stage "one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the city of London, to their great scandall, and the lessening of their authority." [1]

This is the last we hear of Kemp, who probably died soon afterwards, but Armin survived him several years, though, as far as we can judge, not in very flourishing circumstances. Augustine Phillips, who died in 1605, left Armin a legacy of twenty shillings, as one of his fellow-sharers and actors; but Armin had disposed of his interest, whatever it might be, when a value was put upon the Blackfriars theatre in the year 1608 or 1609, for his name does not occur among those who were in any way concerned; and as Joseph Taylor was then the owner of a share and a half, it is not impossible that he came into the property by purchase from Armin.

About this date he seems to have resumed his occupation as what Gabriel Harvey had termed him in 1593, "a common pamphletter;" for in 1608 came out, in 4to., a work, the title of which has been before introduced, "A Nest of Ninnies, simply of themselves without Compounds." We may pretty safely conclude that poverty had compelled Armin to sell his property as a sharer in the company of the King's players, although he continued one of the association, and that he now sought to relieve some temporary necessities by the publication of tracts, which he hoped would be popular.

Nevertheless, he called himself "servant to the King's most excellent Majesty," when he printed a play in the next year, under the title of "The Two Maids of More Clacke, with the Life and simple Manner of John in the Hospital;" but, though he still belonged to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, it is rather singular that his drama was brought out by "the Children of the King's Majesty's Revels." The fact that he had not quitted the association of

[1] See p. 117 of this volume, where the document is set out.

which he had so long been a member is evidenced by Ben Jonson, who, as already noticed, enumerates Armin among "the principal actors" in his "Alchemist," which, he tells us, was played by "the King's Majesty's servants" in 1610. Armin preserved the same designation of "servant to the King's most excellent Majesty," when he published his next tract, "The Italian Tailor and his Boy," which came out in 1609, which he admitted to be a translation, and which, in fact, forms Novel v., Night 8, of the *Notti Piacevoli* of Straparola.[1] In the introductory matter to this small work he refers to the deadly offence which his "Nest of Ninnies" had given in some quarters: "Not long since (he says) I discovered a nest of ninnies in this great womb of the world, and some of the old brood before scorned at this new birth: it was but to show their antiquity, and who was the neatest ninny of all the nest. One, forsooth, would kill the author; and why? because of the dedication." As the dedication to the members of the two Universities and Inns of Court has come down

[1] In "the Prologue to the Storie" we read as follows:—

"I thus destribute to all eyes
What I of late have red:
Though faigned, yet they are no lyes,
But fancies better bred:
And yet the subject of discent,
As many worthies bee,
Begun of nothing, till content
Breed to maturitie.
The Italian poet in discourse
Sets down a homely toy,
In singular donne, prose not verse,
A taylor and his boy;
Who in contention shewde the earth
What art exceeded in,
For nothing but an howers mirth;
And thus doth he begin."

to us, it is difficult to imagine how any person could have taken it amiss, but there are in it some allusions, not now intelligible, which might then have been well understood.

The most remarkable passage in the preliminary matter to "The Italian Tailor and his Boy" is contained in the epistle to Lord and Lady Haddington, where Armin refers to his poverty, and makes such a reference to Dogberry as seems to render it certain that he succeeded to the character after Kemp resigned it, on retiring from the Lord Chamberlain's players, and joining those of the Lord Admiral: Armin's words are, "Pardon, I pray you, the boldness of a beggar, who hath been *writ down an ass* in his time, and pleads under *formâ pauperis* in it still, *notwithstanding his constableship* and office." Kemp was certainly dead when this was written, and Armin may possibly not have performed Dogberry until after that event; but our notion is, that the character devolved into Armin's hands when Kemp abandoned the Globe, and went to act at the Fortune.

John Davies, of Hereford, published his "Scourge of Folly about 1611: it was certainly after 1609, because the printed edition of Lord Brooke's "Mustapha" of that year is mentioned in it. Among other "epigrams" to "worthy persons," such as Thomas Bastard, Sir John Harington, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson, &c., Davies devotes an especially long one to "Robin Armin," to whose private character, as well as to his public excellence, it bears testimony. It is thus humorously headed:—

> *To honest, gamesome Robin Armin,*
> *That tickles the spleen like an harmless vermin.*
>
> Armin, what shall I say of thee, but this,
> Thou art a fool and knave? Both? Fie! I miss,
> And wrong thee much; sith thou, indeed, art neither,
> Although in shew thou playest both together.
> We all (that's kings and all) but players are
> Upon this earthly stage, and should have care

To play our parts so properly, that we
May at the end gain an *applaudite.*
But most men over-act, mis-act, or miss
The action which to them peculiar is;
And the more high the part is which they play,
The more they miss in what they do or say:
So that, when off the stage by death they wend,
Men rather hiss at them, than them commend.
But, honest Robin, thou with harmless mirth
Dost please the world, and so enjoy'st the earth
That others but possess with care that stings;
So mak'st thy life more happy far than kings.
And so much more our love should thee embrace,
Sith thou still liv'st with some that die to grace,
And yet art honest, in despite of lets,
Which earns more praise than forced goodness gets.
So play thy part; be honest still with mirth:
Then, when th' art in the tiring house of earth,
Thou being his servant whom all kings do serve,
May'st for thy part well play'd like praise deserve;
For in that 'tiring house when either be
Y'are one man's men, and equal in degree.
So thou in sport the happiest men do school
To do as thou dost—wisely play the fool.[1]

[1] In his "Wit's Pilgrimage," Sign. P. 4, Davies inserts an epitaph upon a jester, or "professed fool," of the name of Meece, of whom we hear on no other authority. It does not appear that Meece was an actor, although Davies says of him—

"Then, never Foole on this world's reeling stage
Plaid his part better, till forescore of age."

Some lines near the conclusion are worth quoting, with reference to representations in "The Dance of Death:"—

"Then, Meece, since Death doth play the foole with thee,
Showing his teeth, laughing ill-favour'dly,
Put on his pate thy capp, and on his back
Thy pide coate put, with every foolish knack,

We may presume, therefore, that Armin continued, not only alive, but on the stage in 1611. If he were not dead in 1615, it is singular that, as he had done in his other works, he did not put his name at length on the title-page of a play then printed, called "The Valiant Welshman:" it purports to have been written by R. A., and possibly the publisher intended it to be inferred that it was by Armin, although nothing is said regarding him and his authorship. In Henslowe's "Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society, will be found three notices of plays in which Welshmen were concerned; and one of these, as there suggested, may have been "The Valiant Welshman," an early work by Armin, if indeed he had anything to do with the play. We first hear of "The Welshman" in Henslowe's "Diary" in November 1595 (p. 61); of a drama by Drayton and Chettle, in which the part of a Welshman was inserted in March 1598 (p. 120); and of "The Welshman's Prize," as one of the stock-pieces belonging to Henslowe's company, very shortly afterwards (p. 276).

We know not where nor when Armyn was buried, for his name is not found in one of the parish registers we have been able to examine, nor does it occur in any of the token-books of Southwark. We are utterly destitute of information whether he had been married, or whether he left behind him any family. His will was sought in vain by Chalmers, and our more recent inquiries have not led to the discovery of it; nor is it known that letters of administration were taken out for such effects as he may have left behind him. Had he died in any of the parishes in or near which our old theatres were situated, his burial would probably have been registered there, and we should have met with the record.

> And say (sith he sittes quite beside the stoole),
> Looke on the foole, that cannot kill a foole!
> For I, poor Meece, that was a foole to Death,
> Have made Death now my foole, ev'n with a breath."

WILLIAM OSTLER.

He was one of "the Children of the Queen's Chapel" in 1601, when he played with Field, Pavy, Underwood, and others in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster:" as he had no part in the same dramatist's "Cynthia's Revels," in 1600, represented by the same juvenile company, we may infer, perhaps, that in 1601 he had been recently taken into the association.

Anterior to April, 1604, he seems to have been drafted into his Majesty's players, possibly as a young man to sustain female characters: his name is spelt Hostler in a list of "the King's company" at that date,[1] and no Christian name is given; but doubtless it was the same performer, as there were not two Ostlers on the stage at the same time. He had nothing to do in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" in 1603; at least, he is not mentioned by the author at the end of the play in the folio of 1616: the earliest date at which his name appears, on the authority of Ben Jonson, as one of "the King's Majesty's servants," is 1610, when Ostler is introduced as a "principal comedian" in "The Alchemist." In the next year he had a part in "Catiline," most probably a male one; but when Malone asserts positively that it was so, he does it without more evidence than is to be derived from Ostler's place in the author's list of the chief actors.

Before this time Ostler must have been an applauded and popular performer, or Davies of Hereford would not have addressed him in his "Scourge of Folly," (printed, as already mentioned, about 1611) as "the Roscius of these times." Davies was, no doubt, acquainted with him, and in all theatrical eulogies,

[1] Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 68.

whether of our own or of former times, considerable allowance must be made for the partiality of friendship. The lines by Davies were referred to by Malone, but have not been quoted anywhere, that we recollect, and to us we own that they are not by any means intelligible: however, we subjoin them literally, in the hope that the reader will make more sense out of them than we can:—

TO THE ROSCIUS OF THESE TIMES, MR. W. OSTLER.

Ostler, thou took'st a knock thou would'st have giv'n,
Neere sent thee to thy latest home: but, O!
Where was thine action, when thy crown was riv'n,
Sole King of Actors? then wast idle? No:
Thou hadst it, for thou wouldst bee doing. Thus
Good actors' deeds are oft most dangerous;
But if thou plaist thy dying part as well
As thy stage parts, thou hast no part in hell.[1]

Hence we might gather that an assault had been committed upon Ostler, and that he brought an action against his assailant. The "epigram," for such it is called, was perhaps understood at the time, but Davies seems now and then to have prided himself on being obscure.

Ostler was married before 1612, but where and to whom we have not been able to discover.[2] He had a son christened at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, in the spring of 1612, and he named it Beaumont, probably after the dramatic poet, who may have stood godfather to it. The entry in the register is

[1] We are indebted to the Rev. Joseph Hunter for this extract from a rare book in his library: the title of it is "The Scourge of Folly. Consisting of Satyricall Epigrams, &c. At London, printed by E. A., for Richard Redmer, sould at his shop at the west gate of Paules."

[2] A John Ostler and Margaret Dickinson were married on 15th Feb., 1612, at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, but we have no means of tracing any relationship, beyond the name.

in these terms, and it was not usual there to specify the occupation of the parent :—

Baptized 18 May, 1612. Beaumont, the sonne of William Ostler.[1]

It is to be remarked that Ostler was an actor in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Captain," "Bonduca," "Valentinian," and no doubt in other plays, though his name be not found at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ* in the folios. We suspect that he had no more children, and we find no trace of any in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, or the adjoining parishes.[2] The name of Ostler, or Hostler, was known in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, but not in any instance with the Christian name of William prefixed. "Margaret, the wife of John Ostler," was buried at St. Leonard's, from Holywell Street, where so many actors resided, in 1622; but she could hardly have been the widow of the John Ostler who was interred at St. Botolph's in 1574.

It is quite certain that Ostler was lost to the stage before 1623, although Malone hastily concluded that he was still an actor in that year—"He acted Antonio in Webster's Duchess of Malfi, in 1623."[3] The evidence referred to proves precisely the contrary: the tragedy was printed in 1623, as it had been revived the year before, having been originally produced about 1616.[4] To the printed copy is prefixed a very

[1] This memorandum escaped Malone and Chalmers, when making their searches respecting the families of Heminge and Condell.

[2] The Joan Osteler who was buried at St. Botolph on 14 July, 1603, was a grown woman, as her age is inserted in the margin of the register. Robert, the son of Vincent Ostler, was baptized on 30 July, 1603.

[3] Malone's Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 213. Chalmers falls precisely into the same error as Malone, whom he copies almost verbally in other respects. Suppl. Apology, p. 170.

[4] This is Malone's own date, and probably the correct one, though not for the reason he assigns. See note on "Timon of Athens," act iii., scene 3. The only certain point at which we can arrive is that "The

unusual list of the original actors in the several parts, and of those who had been substituted and sustained them on the revival: thus in the case of Ostler we read:—

Antonio Bologna, Steward of the household to the Duchess.	1. W. Ostler. 2. R. Benfield.

The meaning being, that in the first instance, when the tragedy was brought out about 1616, Ostler was Antonio, but that when it was revived, perhaps in 1622, (Ostler being dead, or having retired from the stage) the character had been assigned to R. Benfield. In our memoir of Condell we have stated, as one of our reasons for thinking that he had withdrawn from the more public duties of the profession in 1623, that he had relinquished the character of the Cardinal, in "The Duchess of Malfi," to R. Robinson. On the same grounds we conclude that Ostler was at this date lost to the stage, either by death or retirement, for afterwards we never hear of him in connexion with the King's players, or any other company. We have not been able to discover the registration of the death of Ostler in the parishes in which our old actors commonly resided. Perhaps he came from the country, and retired to the country.

Duchess of Malfi" was originally acted before the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619, because he had the part of Ferdinand in it, which in 1623 was in the hands of Joseph Taylor.

NATHAN FIELD.

It is a new fact in the history of Nathan (or, as it is sometimes written, Nathaniel) Field,[1] that although a distinguished player, second perhaps only to Burbadge, and a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's dramas, he was the son of a puritanical preacher of much popularity, and one of the earliest as well as one of the bitterest enemies of theatrical performances. Malone and Chalmers, by their brief notices, appear to have known nothing of Field until the year 1600, when he sustained a part in "Cynthia's Revels;"[2] but we are able to carry on his history from his birth to his death, and we are also in a condition to show, for the first time, that he was married, and had a family.

He was born in the year 1587, in the parish of St. Gilos, without Cripplegate, as the following extract from the register establishes:—

Christened: Nathan Fielde, sonne of John Fielde, preacher, 17 October, 1587.

There is, as we have stated, a question, whether his real name were Nathan, as it stands in the register, or Nathaniel; and it is quite certain that his father, on 13th June, 1581,

[1] For the satisfaction of those who may think it of importance to know how names were spelt of old, it may be observed that Field went through the following varieties of orthography—Feld, Felde, Feild, Field, Feilde, Feelde, and Fielde: it is found in nearly all these forms in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

[2] Malone (Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 213) tells us, that "Cynthia's Revels" was originally performed in 1601, but this is an error: Ben Jonson himself asserts that it was "first acted in the year 1600."

had a son, christened Nathaniel, who died before 1587; and we take it, that this second boy was named in memory of the first, and that the entry, therefore, ought to have been not "Nathan," but Nathaniel.[1] Our actor must have been, at least, John Field's seventh child: "Dorcas Field, daughter of John Field, minister," was baptized 7th May, 1570; John Field, the son of John Field, minister," was baptized 4th January, 1572; "Theophilus Field, son of John Field," was baptized 22nd January, 1574; "Jonathan Field, son of John Field, minister," was baptized 13th May, 1577; "Nathaniel Field, son of John Field, preacher," was baptized, as we have stated, 13th June, 1581; and "Elizabeth Field, daughter of John Field, clerk," was baptized 2nd February, 1583.[2] He seems to have had no increase of his family from that date until the birth of the subject of our memoir; and he did not live to witness the evil course his youngest son was destined to run: the Rev. John Field died in the spring of 1587-8, and was buried at his parish church, as is evidenced by the subsequent registration:—

John Fielde, preacher, was buryed the 26th March, 1587.

It was he who, in November 1581, had written a letter to the Earl of Leicester, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum,[3] reviling him for having interfered "in

[1] During his career, he seems to have been indifferently called Nathan and Nathaniel: he was baptized Nathan, and buried Nathaniel, as will be seen at the close of our memoir. His familiar appellation was Nat. Field, and so he subscribes a note to P. Henslowe, of which we shall speak hereafter.

[2] She died and was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on the 14th June, 1603, as appears by the register. Her sister Dorcas was married to Edward Ryce (as we learn from the Cripplegate records) on the 9th November, 1590.

[3] Titus, B. vii., fol. 22. A quotation from it, with a fac-simile of Field's handwriting, may be seen in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 253.

the behalf of evil men, as of late you did for players, to the great grief of all the godly," and adjuring him not to encourage "those wickednesses and abuses that are wont to be nourished by those impure interludes and plays." This seems to have been a private communication to the Earl; but two years afterwards this zealous "minister," "clerk," and "preacher," as he is termed in the registers, took advantage of a fatal accident that happened at Paris Garden (not then a theatre) to publish a violent and virulent attack upon all theatrical performances.[1]

Nathan, Nathaniel, or Nat. Field, as we shall show ere long, was a man of very considerable talents as an author, besides being one of the most celebrated actors of his day. Where and by whom he was educated it is impossible to state: he seems to have had some pretensions to scholarship; but, if he went to school, he must have been taken or diverted from it early, for he was not more than about thirteen when we first hear of him on the stage: he was then, as we have mentioned, an actor in Ben Jonson's "comical satire," as one of the performers of the juvenile company called "the Children of the Queen's Chapel." It is not at all unlikely that attention was paid, under public authority, to the education of these boy-players, selected and retained for her Majesty's amusement: even at that day it could hardly have been thought that a boy of thirteen was sufficiently informed for any profession, and, in the intervals of the public and private

[1] Under the following title: "A Godly exhortation by occasion of the late judgement of God shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled, by estimation, above a thousand persons, whereof some were slaine, and of that number at the least, as is credibly reported, the thirde person maimed and hurt. Given to all estates for their instruction, concerning the keeping of the Sabboth day. By John Field, Minister of the word of God. Published by Authoritie. At London Printed by Robert Waldegrave, dwelling without Temple-barre, for Henry Carre, in Paule's Churchyard. 1583." 8vo.

exhibitions, instruction may have been given to the theatrical children. Field was a favourite with Ben Jonson; and that great and learned poet may, for aught we know, have interested himself in the education of a youth of so much promise, and to whose exertions he was much indebted.

As in the case of Lowin, at a more mature period of life, so in the case of Field, who was about eleven years younger, the establishment and opening of a new playhouse in the parish in which they were born may have had a powerful influence on their minds, and to this fact may possibly be attributed their subsequent connexion with the stage. Samuel Daniel, the poet, was appointed, very early in the reign of James I., to inspect and approve the productions to be represented by the Children of the Queen's Revels (as the Children of the Chapel were then called), and the company was under the control and management of persons of the names of Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne. We only know of what members this juvenile association consisted, in 1600, from Ben Jonson, who gives the following list of six "principal comedians" concerned in acting his "Cynthia's Revels" in that year—Nat. Field, Sal. Pavy, Tho. Day, Joh. Underwood, Rob. Baxter, and Joh. Frost.

We are entitled, perhaps, to assume, from the place his name occupies, that Field was the leading actor of the company; and in the next year, when they represented the same dramatist's "Poetaster," he held the same position: three of his coadjutors had played with him in "Cynthia's Revels;" but instead of Baxter and Frost, Will. Ostler and Tho. Marton were substituted in the performance of "The Poetaster."

The next we hear of Field is as the representative of the arduous character of Bussy d'Ambois, in Chapman's popular tragedy of that name: it was printed in 1607, and may have been first performed in the preceding year.[1] To Field's

[1] Chalmers, in his Suppl. "Apology," p. 171, says, "In 1607 Field acted the part of Bussy d'Ambois in Chapman's drama;" but that was the year

personation of this hero we shall have occasion to recur, but we are entirely ignorant who were his associates. When Ben Jonson's 'Epicœne" was brought out "by the Children of her Majesty's Revels" in 1609, excepting that of Field, we do not meet, in the list furnished by the author, with a single name that had before occurred as actors in his dramas: the "principal comedians" were then these—Nat. Field, Gil. Caric, Hug. Attawel, Joh. Smith, Will. Barksted, Will. Pen, Ric. Allen, and Joh. Blaney. Ostler and Day had joined the King's players in 1604: Underwood took the same course (we know that he had done so before 1610), and others of Field's early "fellows" had either quitted the stage, from having outgrown their youthful characters, had joined other companies, or had died.

It is very clear that Field had not become one of the King's players in 1611, or his name must assuredly have been found among the ten "principal tragedians" in Ben Jonson's "Catiline," brought out in that year: and we apprehend, for reasons we shall assign presently, that he did not permanently belong to that company until five years afterwards.

We have already stated that Field, like many other actors of his day, became an author, and his first play, "A Woman is a Weathercock," must have been represented about 1610: it was printed in 1612, and it purports, on the title-page, to have been "acted before the King at Whitehall, and divers times privately at the Whitefriars by the Children of her Majesty's Revels." Of this company we have no doubt Field still remained a member, notwithstanding he was in his twenty-third year. According to his portrait, preserved at

in which the play was printed, not when it was first acted. If we fix the production of the play in 1606, we take the latest date that can with any probability be assigned to it: it seldom happened that a play was printed so soon as a year after it was brought out at a theatre. Bussy d'Ambois was entered for publication in the Stationers' Company's books, 3rd June, 1607.

Dulwich, and not long since engraved, he had a peculiarly smooth and feminine look, with no whiskers, and on this account he may not have been disqualified, as soon as many others, for acting with his juniors: it is to be recollected also, that theatrical "children" often continued to be so called after they had reached maturity: even full-grown recruits seem sometimes to have been added to their numbers, who were also designated "children." It is most likely that Field took a character in "A Woman is a Weathercock," as well as in his "Amends for Ladies" (acted about 1612, and printed in 1618 and 1639), of which we shall shortly have more to say. The first was performed at the private theatre in the Whitefriars, which the company of the Children of the Queen's Revels then occupied; but the second was brought out at the Blackfriars theatre, at the time when it was employed by the actors of Prince Henry and of the Princess Elizabeth, as well as by the King's players. While the King's players, during the summer, were performing at the Globe, they seem to have allowed other associations to use the Blackfriars theatre.

Ben Jonson's tribute to Field, in 1614, as the Burbadge of his company (the Princess Elizabeth's servants) we have already quoted in our memoir of the most celebrated of the performers in Shakespeare's plays (p. 41). In R. Flecknoe's "Short Discourse of the English Stage," printed at the end of his "Love's Kingdom," in 1664, the names of Burbadge and Field are coupled, as if at least of equal merit and celebrity, the name of the younger actor having, in fact, precedence:—"In this time," says Flecknoe, "were poets and actors in their greatest flourish; Jonson and Shakespeare, with Beaumont and Fletcher, their poets, and Field and Burbadge, their actors." In a subsequent part of the same tract, he again mentions them, and in the same order.

Malone states that Field performed female parts at the Globe and Blackfriars, after he had joined the King's players;

and he adds, "when he became too manly to act the characters of women, he played the part of Bussy d'Ambois;"[1] but Bussy d'Ambois, as we have already mentioned, was played by Field before 1607, when the tragedy was printed, and while he was one of the children of the Revels to Queen Anne; so that, according to Malone, Field was then disqualified from sustaining female characters. He certainly did not become, for any continuance, one of the servants of King James until after 1614, when, as we have seen, he was a member of the company playing under the patronage of the Princess Elizabeth, and about twenty-seven years old: we may reasonably doubt, therefore, whether he ever acted any of the more feminine female characters in the works of our great dramatist: if he were manly enough for Bussy d'Ambois before 1607, he would be too manly for Juliet, or Desdemona, or Imogen, in 1615, although, of course, some women's parts could be pointed out in Shakespeare's plays that would admit of a more masculine representative.

Field could not have belonged permanently to the King's players until after the production of Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair:" in 1613 he seems to have joined them for a very short time; but our belief is that a lasting change of his associates did not take place until three or four years anterior to the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619: consequently, Field never played originally in any of Shakespeare's dramas, but we find him assisting Burbadge in the representation of several by Beaumont and Fletcher, such as "The Knight of Malta," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Loyal Subject," "The Mad Lover," &c.

The players of the Princess Elizabeth, some time after her marriage, became the dramatic servants of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, under the management of Henslowe and Alleyn. Among the papers of the latter, yet preserved at Dulwich College, are various scraps of notes which passed between Henslowe and the authors or actors in his pay and employ: these

[1] Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 213.

are generally dated in 1613 and 1614, and among them are three in which Field was importantly concerned: they are unluckily all without date, but they refer to circumstances and transactions which sufficiently show that they belong to the period we have named. One of these, printed precisely as it stands in Field's autograph, will be found in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,"[1] and two others, also accurately given from the originals, are inserted in "The Alleyn Papers,"[2] published by the Shakespeare Society. The first of these (it is unnecessary to reprint them here) relates to the pecuniary distresses of Field, Massinger, and Daborne, who were then writing, in conjunction, a play for Henslowe's company, of whom, we may conclude, Field was then one: the second proves that Field and Daborne were engaged upon another play, and desired to have £10 of the purchase-money in hand; and the third, from Field only, urges a loan of £10, in order that he might be freed from arrest, and continue his performances with the company: in this letter, Field also speaks of himself as a sharer in the receipts, the then usual mode of paying actors; and as he was a performer of so much distinction, and as theatrical affairs were then prosperous, the correspondence seems to establish that Field must have been very improvident, or with such resources he would not have been in poverty. These documents, as we think, conclusively show that in 1614 Field was not a member of the company of the King's players.

To the same effect we may notice another instrument, printed for the first time in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 118, being the copy of an agreement between Henslowe and Jacob Meade, (who in 1614, at the latest, had fitted up a stage at Paris Garden, so that it might be used either as a place for baiting bears, &c., or for the representation of plays) and Field, who seems in some respects to have represented and acted on

[1] Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 120.

[2] The Alleyn Papers, pp. 48, 65.

behalf of the rest of the company. Henslowe and Meade wished to raise a separate body of actors for their new undertaking, and with this object they resorted, as far as we can judge, to Field, as an influential performer, and entered into certain conditions with him, which it is needless here to repeat. One important clause is, that the agreement should remain in force for three years;[1] and supposing it to have been entered into in 1614, in contemplation of the immediate opening of Paris Garden, for the double purpose we have described, and supposing it to have been adhered to by the parties, Field would not be disengaged, so as to be able to join the King's players, until 1617. On 11th June, 1615, he had a warrant for himself and his fellows for £10, for performing "Bartholomew Fair" before the King on November 1st, the very day after it had been produced at the Hope theatre, according to the testimony of the author himself in the Induction. This is decisive evidence that Field remained a member of a rival company in the summer of 1615. We apprehend (for it is impossible to speak decisively) that he did not enter into a permanent engagement with Burbadge, Heminge, Condell, and the rest of that company, until after 1616.

We have seen that in 1613 and 1614, as well as the dates can be ascertained from extrinsic circumstances, Field was

[1] During this interval, (the precise dates are not very clearly ascertainable) Henslowe had differences with his company, and various grounds of complaint were drawn up by some of the members, which were formerly preserved at Dulwich College. These may be seen in "The Alleyn Papers," p. 78; but it appears that Field was not a party to them, as Henslowe thought it worth while to satisfy his claims, if not those of Taylor and another actor of the name of Baxter. It seems that Field would not consent to the sacrifice of his share of £50 due from Henslowe to the company, in consequence of which he satisfied Field, but left the rest of his associates to their remedy. The consequence must have been a temporary interruption of dramatic performances at Paris Garden.

much in want of money; but, if we may take his word for it, such does not seem to have been the case in 1612, when he printed his play, "Woman is a Weathercock." It was usual at that date for authors to procure sums for dedications; but Field, instead of inscribing it to any individual, who might have rewarded him for the distinction, addressed it "to any Woman that hath been no Weathercock," and boastingly asserted that he did so, "because forty shillings I care not for." Whatever might be his circumstances in 1612, he had good reason, in 1613 and 1614, to care for even a smaller sum than forty shillings; and we need not doubt that his thoughtlessness and extravagance kept him poor, in spite of the income he was able to earn as an actor, besides the additions he could make to it as an author. When "Woman is a Weathercock" was printed, it was preceded by commendatory verses by Chapman, who had been bound to Field for his excellent and popular performance of "Bussy d'Ambois" and other plays, and who affectionately terms him "his loved son." It was common at that period for elder poets to allow younger men to address them as "father:" such was the poetical relationship between Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, and James Howell; and Field even writes to old Henslowe (who was certainly no poet) as his father, and subscribes two out of his three existing epistles "your loving son."

Although "Woman is a Weathercock" was Field's earliest play, it was not his earliest production. Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess" was brought out not later than 1610, and printed without date some years afterwards: it was preceded by four copies of commendatory verses, the first in order, and not the last in merit, being six stanzas by Field. They are subscribed only N. F. in the earliest quarto, (a trifling particular with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not appear to have been acquainted[1]) but when they were reprinted, "Nat. Field" is found appended to them. There can be no doubt that he

[1] Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, ii., p. 7.

was on the most intimate and friendly terms with the dramatic poets of his day; and it may be conjectured, that it was soon after he had displayed his own capabilities as a writer of plays that he joined Massinger in the composition of "The Fatal Dowry." Gifford, as has been remarked, "with that zeal for the author under his hands that always distinguished him,"[1] would undervalue Field's contributions to this play, and attribute to him all the parts he considered inferior to Massinger; but the two pieces which have come down to us, in which Field was unassisted, show that he was possessed of no small skill as a dramatist, and of no ordinary powers as a poet.

"Amends for Ladies" is even superior to "Woman is a Weathercock," to which it may be said to form a kind of sequel; but it is not our business here to enter into any criticism upon them, to compare them with each other, or with contemporaneous productions for the stage. "Amends for Ladies," in which the writer endeavoured to compensate for the satirical attack upon the female sex in his earlier play, was, as we have already stated, not published until 1618, but that it was in being, and had probably been acted, before 1612, we have the author's own evidence, in the preliminary matter to his "Woman is a Weathercock," where he tells "any Woman that hath been no Weathercock" that, "if she have been constant, and be so, all I will expect from her for my pains is, that she will continue so but *till my next play be printed*, wherein she shall see *what amends I have made to her and all the sex*." There is an authority which may throw back the composition of "Amends for Ladies" to 1609 or 1610, and

[1] See note to the introduction to "Woman is a Weathercock," printed with four other dramas in a supplementary volume to "Dodsley's Old Plays," in 1829. One of the four other dramas is Field's "Amends for Ladies" As every reader is thus enabled to judge of their merits, it has not been thought necessary to swell our volume by any detailed examination of them.

consequently "Woman is a Weathercock" to even ·t which date.[1] We allude to a passage in Anthony Stafford's just monition to a discontented Romanist," in his "Niobe·d in solved into a Nilus," 1611, 12mo., where he says, in apply rent allusion to the title of Field's second play, "No, no, sir· I will never write an *Amends for Women*, till I see women amended."

From his portrait, and from other circumstances, we may judge that he was what the ladies, in the time of Wycherley and later, would have called "a pretty fellow;" and he was probably a considerable favourite with the fair sex. In a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, and in other common-place books of the reign of James I. and Charles I., we meet with the following punning epigram, which evidently relates to some undue familiarity between Field and a lady, who is there called "the Lady May," but respecting whom we have no farther information: it is entitled as if Field had been the writer of the lines, but they contradict the supposition.

FIELD, THE PLAYER, ON HIS MISTRESS, THE LADY MAY.

It is the fair and merry month of May,
That clothes the Field in all his rich array,
Adorning him with colours better dyed
Than any king can wear, or any bride.
But May is almost spent, the Field grows dun
With too much gazing on that May's hot sun;
And if mild Zephirus, with gentle wind,
Vouchsafe not his calm breath, and the clouds kind
Distil their honey-drops, his heat to 'lay,
Poor Field will burn e'en in the midst of May.

John Taylor, the water-poet, has inserted a joke in his "Wit and Mirth," printed without date, but about 1620, in

[1] In his address "to the Reader," before his "Woman is a Weathercock," Field uses this expression—"I send you a comedy here as good as I could *then* make," as if it had been written some time before.

Field is made a party, and in which he is repre-
as riding through the streets of London: it runs thus
Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet-street a great
ce, a gentleman called to him, and asked him what play
was played that day? He (being angry to be stayed on so frivolous a demand) answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every *post*. "I cry you mercy (said the gentleman); I took you for a *post*, you rode so fast." This "quiblet," as Taylor calls it, and which he was perhaps the first to publish, afterwards ran the gauntlet of various jest-books: it was stolen, among others, by the collector of "Hugh Peters' Jests," and finally made its appearance in "Westminster Quibbles," printed late in the seventeenth century, where it is attributed to an actor of the name of Wallop. It did not cease to be repeated, until the practice of exposing playbills on posts became generally discontinued.

We have shown that Field was probably in full feather, and not in want of money, when he published his "Woman is a Weathercock," in 1612; and it seems likely, from an expression in the address "to the reader" before the same play, that at that date he did not contemplate remaining long on the stage: "if (he observes) thou hast anything to say to me, thou knowest where to hear of me *for a year or two, and no more*, I assure thee." We may speculate that his indiscretion, and his inability to obtain a subsistence independently of the stage, induced him to continue upon it; and accordingly we have seen him attaching himself to Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, when it was made convertible into a play-house about 1614, and we may presume that he was the leader of their company at least until 1617, when his agreement with them would expire.

Field having played with Burbadge in several of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in which he was an original performer, that is to say, had no predecessor in the parts he undertook, we may be sure that he had firmly attached himself to the King' players

some time before 1619, which is the earliest date at which his name occurs in any extant patent. Burbadge was just dead at the time it was granted; but, as we have noticed in his memoir, (p. 47) his name was nevertheless accidentally included in the enumeration of the royal actors. We give the complete list, in order that the position Field occupies in it may be clearly seen: it was by no means prominent, and he is postponed even to Tooley and Underwood, the former of whom never arrived at any considerable distinction, while the latter had been one of Field's contemporaries nineteen years before, in the performance of "Cynthia's Revels:"

John Heminge.	Nathan Field.
Richard Burbadge.	Robert Benfield.
Henry Condell.	Robert Gough.
John Lowin.	William Ecclestone.
Nicholas Tooley.	Richard Robinson.
John Underwood.	John Shank.

All these, and more, are found at the commencement of the folio of Shakespeare's works in 1623: of five we have already inserted in our volume such particulars as are known, and of the rest we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, so that we need not now pause to criticize any of them, or to enter into conjectures why some are placed later in the enumeration than would seem due to their rank. One of these is unquestionably Field, who perhaps lost some ground in the profession during the three years he was under Henslowe, when he was disputing with the old manager, and when he was evidently struggling against poverty, perhaps occasioned by his own extravagance and irregularity.

From the registers of St. Anne and St. Andrew, Blackfriars (which Malone and Chalmers never consulted, although a parish where it is natural to suppose some of our early actors would reside), we learn that Field must have been married before 1619, because he had a daughter baptized on

the 9th September of that year: the entry also ascertains the Christian name of his wife—

Baptized: Alice Field, daughter to Nathan and Anne, 9th September, 1619.

We have failed to discover where the marriage took place—certainly not in any of the districts where our old theatres were situated, and the parties were most likely united at the parish church of the lady, wherever that might be, in town or country. We apprehend that Field took to himself the expensive commodity of a wife soon after he became one of the King's players, and when he enjoyed larger emoluments than he had obtained under Henslowe. If we may believe an epigram written about this time, and handed down to us in MS.,[1] Field was of a jealous turn of mind; and it leads us to remark upon the probability that Burbadge, some time before his death, had relinquished to Field the part of Othello: at all events Field, according to the epigrammatist, had played the character, and it may have been one of those which Burbadge, as he advanced in years, allowed younger performers to undertake.[2] The lines to which we allude are the following:—

DE AGELLO ET OTHELLO.

Field is, in sooth, an actor—all men know it,
And is the true Othello of the poet.
I wonder if 'tis true, as people tell us,
That, like the character, he is most jealous.
If it be so, and many living sweare it,
It takes not little from the actor's merit,
Since, as the Moore is jealous of his wife,
Field can display the passion to the life.

[1] The original was sold among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Heber.

[2] Wright (*Historia Histrionica*) informs us that "Swanston used to play Othello:" this was, of course, at a date subsequent to the relinquishment of the part, from whatever cause, by Field. Had Swanston taken

He was clearly married at the date when this piece of ill-nature was penned, and we have just shown that the first child, regarding which we have any information, was born in the autumn of 1619. One of his brothers had the name of Theophilus, and it was given to Field's next child, baptized at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on 12th January, 1620; but it lived only about three years, and was buried on 2nd February, 1623. A son, christened after himself, was carried to the font on 4th August, 1622. A "daughter of Nathan and Anne Field" was named after the mother on 8th July, 1625, but it was buried on the 16th of the same month, and was replaced by another Anne on 20th July, 1627. If they had any more offspring, they were not baptized, nor buried, at St. Anne's or St. Andrew's.

We may feel assured that Field had retired from the profession in 1625, and probably before 1623, although in the latter year he was not more than thirty-six. Our reason for concluding that he had left the stage in 1625 is, that his name is not found in the patent of Charles I. when he came to the throne: our reason for thinking that he had disappeared from the scene before 1623 is, that he was not one of the performers

so important a character before 1623, his name would, we should think, have been certain to find a place in the list of actors preceding the first folio of Shakespeare's works.

Wright also states, that after the closing of the theatres "Swanston professed himself a Presbyterian, took up the trade of a jeweller, and lived in Aldermanbury." The fact is, that Iliard, or Hiliard Swanston, had resided, for many years before the breaking out of the civil wars, in Aldermanbury, where Heminge and Condell also lived. The registers, which Malone and Chalmers examined without meeting with Swanston's name, contain many entries of the birth of his children, beginning in 1622, and ending in 1638, after which date we hear no more of him in the parish. The register does not state in any instance his business or profession, and it may be suspected that he carried on the trade of a jeweller in Aldermanbury while he was on the stage, to which he was attached, as one of the players at the Phœnix in 1621, if not earlier.

in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," when it was revived shortly prior to that date. Had he been available, we cannot believe that an actor of such eminence would have been omitted from the cast. He did not belong to the company when the tragedy was first produced.

We have now little more to do than to record our actor's death, which took place about five years and a half after the birth of the last child regarding which we have any memorial: his interment is thus registered at St. Anne's, in which parish he resided to the last:—

Buried: Nathanael Feild, 20 Feb., 1632.

Taking, of course, 20th February, 1632, as 20th February, 1633, according to our present reckoning, Field was only between forty-five and forty-six years old at the time of his death. He left behind him a widow and three children, the eldest not fourteen, and the youngest not six years old; but regarding them, and their future progress in the world, we have been able to obtain no intelligence: neither have we discovered how long the widow survived her husband.[1]

Malone, in the few lines he wrote about Field, was obliged to content himself with supposing that he was dead in 1641;[2] and Chalmers says, "he died before the year 1641, though I have not been able to discover either his will, or the date of his burial."[3] The truth is, that they never looked in the most likely place to find the register of his interment, and were satisfied with the following extract from the prologue prefixed to the edition of Chapman's "Bussy d'Ambois," in 1641:—

Field is gone,
Whose action first did give it name;

[1] If the following entry, in the register of St. Anne's, relate to her, she was living in 1637:—

"William Edwards, from widow Field's, buried 1st September, 1637."

[2] "Shakspeare" by Boswell, iii., 213.

[3] "Suppl. Apology for the Believers," p. 172.

alluding to the original personation of the hero by our actor, when yet a boy, which we have already mentioned.

The printer of the earliest impressions of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," and "Lucrece," was Richard Field—"London, Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard;" and it has been conjectured that Shakespeare had been induced to employ him, because he, or his family, came from Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1592, the father of our great dramatist was appointed, with two others, to value the goods of a person of the name of "Henry Feelde, of Stratford, tanner,"[1] and he may possibly have been the father of Richard Field, the printer. Whether this speculation be or be not well founded, we may add here, not inappropriately, that Richard Field lived in Blackfriars, while he carried on his business in St. Paul's Church-yard; and there we find his marriage thus registered, five years before he printed "Venus and Adonis:"—

Married: Richard Field to Jacklin Vautrillian, 12 Jan., 1588.

We give the names exactly as they stand in the entry; but Jacklin Vautrillian, perhaps, ought properly to have been written Jaqueline Vautrollier, one of the daughters of the eminent printer who himself lived in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and had relations also in Southwark, as is testified by the registers of those parishes. We have failed in tracing any relationship between Nathan Field, the actor, and Richard Field, the printer, but they were neighbours, living in the same small liberty of the Blackfriars.

[1] Collier's "Shakespeare," i., cxlii.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Judging from the number and variety of plays in which the services of Underwood were required, he must have been a very useful actor; but, as in the case of many of his "fellows," we have, with one exception, no means of knowing at all certainly what parts he sustained, nor, indeed, what was the character and class of his performances, whether high or low, serious or comic, or whether he excelled in both departments. Scarcely a new drama seems to have been produced, during the period when he was connected with the stage, in which his assistance was not deemed necessary. In Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, he is mentioned in company with Field;[1] but although he may have been as often, he certainly never was as prominently employed. We do not find him spoken of by any writer of his time, so that we may presume he never arrived at any great degree of distinction or popularity.

We are unable to give the date or place of his birth, but it seems by the register of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, (the parish adjoining St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where so many actors lived and died) that his father and mother (as we suppose them to have been) were married in 1579-80:—

John Underwood and Ellinor White were married 17th Jan., 1579, with license.

Our first tidings of Underwood as an actor are in 1600, when,

[1] Wright is referring to the change that took place among the juvenile performers as they advanced in life:—"Some of these chapel-boys, when they grew men, became actors at the Blackfriars: such were Nathan Field and John Underwood."

as one of the Children of the Queen's Chapel, he was concerned in the representation of Ben Jonson's "Cynthia's Revels."[1] We know that at that date Field, who performed with him, was not fourteen years old, and perhaps Underwood was not older: of course, this supposition would place his birth about 1587, seven years after the union of his father and mother, if such they were. The other "principal comedians" in "Cynthia's Revels" were Salathiel Pavy, Robert Baxter, Thomas Day, and John Frost; and the names were arranged by Ben Jonson, as if Field and Underwood were the chief supporters of his "comical Satire:"—

Nat. Field.		Joh. Underwood.
Sal. Pavy.		Rob. Baxter.
Tho. Day.		Joh. Frost.

Unless some of them doubled their parts, and it is not at all unlikely, twenty-three actors were engaged in the drama, out of whom Ben Jonson only selected six, for distinction, in his list at the end of the printed copy in the folio of 1616. In 1601, when Underwood had a part in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster," the author placed the names of the six "principal comedians" in the same manner, substituting William Ostler and Thomas Marton for Baxter and Frost.

We take it that Underwood was included in the association which acted Shakespeare's plays some years before Field joined it: Underwood's name is not found with Field's in the list of eight Children of the Queen's Revels, who had been engaged in producing Ben Jonson's "Epicœne," in 1609; and in the next

[1] In a note in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 166, two errors respecting Underwood are committed, viz., where it is said that he is first heard of in 1601; and that he had become one of the King's servants in 1620. He is first heard of in 1600, and he had become one of the King's servants before 1610. The note has reference to Henry Underwood, a scrivener, employed by Alleyn, who was perhaps related to our actor.

year he certainly had a part in "The Alchemist," which was originally brought out by the King's players. Field's name does not appear there; and in our memoir of him we have assigned our reasons for believing that he did not permanently become one of the King's players until 1616. Underwood acted also in "Catiline" in 1611, but the place his name occupies among his ten associates, both in "The Alchemist" and "Catiline," does not indicate that he had a prominent or important character in either drama.

Perhaps he married about the date when he joined the King's players, but we have not met with any registration of the event. At the time of his death, about fifteen years afterwards, he was a widower, and the father of five children then living; and it is very possible that money he obtained with his wife enabled him (as in the case of Lowin) to purchase an interest in the receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, about 1609. He was also the owner of shares in the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch, and these may have come to him with his wife, or he may have subsequently bought them with his professional savings. It will be remembered that Pope, at the time of his death early in 1604, was entitled to shares in the Curtain and Globe, if not in the Rose. Whether Pope and Underwood occasionally acted there is a point on which we are without evidence: it is clear, that from the time Underwood joined the King's players, until his death, he remained an active member of the company usually performing at the Globe and Blackfriars.

If, as we suppose, Underwood began to act, in the association for which Shakespeare exclusively wrote, in 1609, he could not have performed originally in many of the plays of our great dramatist. It is not, however, to be disputed that he was concerned in the first representation of most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher, for his name is appended, with those of other members of the company, to the folio impressions of 1647 and 1679, in about twenty instances, besides

others in which the list of actors was omitted by the editors: among them are "The Little French Lawyer," "The Custom of the Country," "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "Valentinian," "The Laws of Candy," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Loyal Subject," "The False One," "The Double Marriage," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "The Island Princess," "The Pilgrim," "The Sea Voyage," "The Maid in the Mill," "A Wife for a Month," &c.

Chalmers tells us that Underwood "represented Delio, in the Duchess of Malfi, in 1623:"[1] this is a slight error, 1623 being the date when the tragedy was reprinted, on its revival, perhaps, in the preceding year; but Chalmers also omitted to notice that Underwood had filled the same part about 1616, when "The Duchess of Malfi" was originally acted. This is the exception to which we alluded in the outset: it is the only character Underwood is known to have sustained, but it is a comparatively insignificant one, as the friend of Antonio Bologna, steward to the Duchess; and it has not been mentioned, although it is equally indisputable, that Underwood doubled his part, and acted one of "several madmen" introduced in the course of the drama.

There is no other reason to suppose that Underwood was in bad circumstances in 1623, but that when Nicholas Tooley made his will, on 3rd June in that year, Underwood and Ecclestone were indebted to him: the sums are not specified, but Tooley "forgave" it them, apparently in lieu of legacies which he bequeathed to some others of his fellows.

We have spoken of Underwood's marriage about 1609, and John, apparently his first child, was born in December, 1610, and was thus registered at the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield:—

27 Dec. 1610. John, sonne of John Underwood, was baptized.

[1] Supplemental Apology, p. 173. Nicholas Tooley, who died in the summer of 1623, was one of the madmen in "The Duchess of Malfi."

Malone and Chalmers never consulted this register; and although our actor had a family of three boys and two girls, it is the only instance in which the birth of any of his children was recorded there, or indeed elsewhere, that we have been able to discover: his second boy was named Burbadge Underwood, and it is more than probable that Richard or Cuthbert Burbadge had stood godfather to it. There was a George and an Edward Underwood in the same parish, and at a subsequent date, but we cannot ascertain whether they were in any way related to John Underwood: on 1st November, 1622, "Grace, the daughter of George Underwood, by Margaret his wife," was baptized at St. Bartholomew the Less; and on 15th April, 1628, Edward Underwood was married to Joan Gybbins at the same church.

John Underwood was probably not forty at the time of his death,[1] which must have occurred soon after 10th October, 1624. Chalmers asserts that "he died in January, 1624-5." but he quotes no parish-register, or other authority, and does not pretend to inform us where he was buried. Underwood's will is dated 4th October, 1624, and he there calls himself "John Underwood, of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less," and he was then "very weak and sick in body;" but in a codicil dated 10th October, 1624, he is spoken of as "John Underwood, *late* of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew." There is hardly room to doubt, from this variation, that he had removed, for change of air perhaps, in the interval between the making of the will and the adding of the codicil: moreover, the will is in the first person, and the codicil in the third, and unsigned, because, in fact, the testator was "deceased" at the time it was drawn up, and, perhaps, dated. It is true that it was not proved until 1st February, 1624-5, but months, and even years, were then sometimes allowed to

[1] In his will he speaks of "the young years of my children;" and if John, baptized in 1610, were the eldest, he was only fourteen at the death of his father.

pass between the death of a testator and the proof of his will: Chalmers, not adverting to this circumstance, seems to have guessed that Underwood's death did not take place until January preceding the proof of his will in February. On the contrary, we may be confident that he did not survive the month of October, 1624; but our research has failed in discovering the registration of his burial, which could not have taken place at his parish church, or it would have been found in the ordinary record, at that period kept with unusual minuteness and accuracy.

It is clear, from the terms of his will, (which we subjoin from Malone) and from its containing no mention of his wife, that she had died before him. He left his young family to the especial care of his "loving and kind fellows," the King's players, and appointed Henry Condell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, his executors, and John Heminge and John Lowin overseers of his will. It was proved by Condell alone, about four months afterwards; and it will be recollected that when he died, in 1627, he solemnly charged his widow and executrix with the performance of certain incomplete trusts towards the children of his friend Underwood.

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less, in London, gent., being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament in manner and form following: viz., First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and estate, which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeathe, and dispose as followeth; that is to say: to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate, and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere; and also all the right, title, or

interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess, or enjoy in any manner or kind at this present, or hereafter, within the Blackfriars, London, or in the company of his Ma^ties^ servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe, on the Bankside; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtaine, situate in or near Holloway, in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place, to my said five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their several ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always, and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change, or alter, by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have, or ought to hold, have, possess, and enjoy, in the said playhouses called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Banckeside, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, accrue, and arise to my said executors, as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided amongst them. Provided also, that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attaine to the age of one and twenty years, my said executors shall pay, or cause to be paid, unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisbursed or undisposed for the uses aforesaid in their or either of their hands; and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforesaid: yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children, every or any of them, at their said full age, or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors, to give unto my child so attaining the age, as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforesaid age; and if any of them shall die, or depart this life before they accomplish the said age, or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share, or

portion to them, him or her surviving, at the ages aforesaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforesaid.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors to this my last will and testament, and do intreat my loving friends, Mr. John Heminge and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament; and I give to my said executors and overseers, for their pains, (which I entreat them to accept) the sum of eleven shillings apiece, to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred twenty four, or thereabouts; viz., his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath, (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors) these particulars following in manner and form following: *scilt*, to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it.

To his son, John Underwood, a seal ring of gold, with an A and a B in it.

To Burbage Underwood, a seal ring with a blue stone in it.

To Isabell, one hoop ring of gold.

To his said son John, one hoop ring of gold.

To his said daughter Elizabeth, one wedding ring.

To his said son Burbage, one hoop ring, black and gold.

To his said son Thomas, one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot.

To his said daughter Isabell, one blue sapphire, and one joint ring of gold.

To John Underwood, one half dozen of silver spoons, and one gilt spoon.

To Elizabeth, one silver spoon, and three gilt spoons.

To Burbage Underwood, his son aforenamed, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl, and one rough bowl.

To Thomas Underwood, his son, one silver porrenger, one silver taster, and one gilt spoon.

To Isabell, his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup.

Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witness, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum una cum codicillo eidam annex. apud London, coram judice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini, 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, &c., de bene, &c., jurat, reservata potestate similem commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitum.

It no where appears who were the witnesses to the codicil, but, as we have said, it seems to have been prepared after Underwood's death occurred: we may presume, perhaps, that it bears date on the day the testator's wish was signified; and, if he had not then been *in extremis*, there appears no reason why he should not have executed it.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

In the biography of Nicholas Tooley a difficulty presents itself in the outset, and continues through the whole of his career, arising from the fact, stated in the codicil to his will, that his real name was Nicholas Wilkinson. Nevertheless, he seems all his life to have been called Tooley, and the statement that his true patronymic was Wilkinson looks like an after-thought: it stands Nicholas Tooley throughout the body of the will; but when he added the codicil, bearing date on the same day, he called himself, as uniformly, "Nicholas Wilkinson, *alias* Tooley," as if, until then, he had himself forgotten what was his real name.

It has been supposed, with some plausibility, that he came originally from Warwickshire, and it is quite certain that a Nicholas Tooley, perhaps the father of our actor, was resident in the county in 1569, his name being inserted in the muster-book of that year.[1] On the other hand, we meet with several persons of the name of Tooley in the registers of various churches in London: in 1590 John Tooley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street, where so many actors at that date resided: Elias Tooley was married to Helen Webbe at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1605, and we meet with the name in the same registers nearly fifty years earlier: John Tooley had a daughter baptized at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1598; and William Rowley, the author-actor, was married to Isabel Tooley, at Cripplegate church, in 1637.[2] This is a new fact in the history of Rowley.

[1] See Collier's "Shakespeare," i., ci.

[2] The following repetitions of the two names, Nicholas and Tooley,

We are puzzled also by the repetition of the names of Nicholas Wilkinson in some of the old registers. We apprehend, for instance, that the following may be the entry of the birth of our actor at St. Anne's, Blackfriars:—

Nicholas Wilkinson, sonne to Charles Wilkinson, baptized 3 Feb., 1574.

It accords pretty exactly with what we may suppose to have been the age of Nicholas Tooley or Wilkinson; but, unless he married very early indeed, the subsequent, from the registers of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, cannot relate to the death of his wife:—

4 Feb., 1593. The wife of Nicholas Wilkinson, of London, gent., was buryed.

Ten years afterwards we meet with the birth of a Nicholas Wilkinson recorded at St. Botolph, Bishopgate. If Nicholas Tooley were born in London, and were not a native of Warwickshire, the quotation we have above made, from the register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the year before the theatre was constructed there, would answer our purpose, by establishing that he was born in 1574-5.

In his will, of which we have already spoken, and which we have inserted at length at the end of our memoir, Tooley calls Richard Burbadge his "late master," and there can be no doubt that he was originally apprentice to that great actor; but whether Burbadge secured Tooley's services in Warwickshire, where he was most likely himself born, or in the metropolis, we cannot upon any evidence before us pretend to

occur, at a late date, in the register of St. Paul, Covent Garden: possibly this Tooley was a descendant from our actor:—

"William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, and of Mary, his wife, borne Ap. 7, 1655; baptized 11th."

"27 June, 1655. William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, buried in the ch. yd."

"5 June, 1556. Mary, wife of Nicholas Tooly, buried in ch. yard.

decide. Why and how he acquired the name of Tooley, by which he was known all his life, and which he himself subscribed to the nuncupative will of his "master" in 1619, and to his own in 1623; and whether it had any and what connexion with Tooley (or St. Olave's) Street, Southwark, must remain matter for future explanation. A person of the name of William Tooley was "yeoman Lord of Misrule," in a list of the household establishment of Henry VIII.;[1] and in 1576-7 a play, called "Toolie," was represented at Hampton Court by the players of Lord Howard.[2]

Both Malone and Chalmers state positively, that Nicholas Tooley acted in Tarlton's plat of "the Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" before 1588, and Chalmers goes so far as to assert that Tooley acted Rhodope; but the fact is, that the performer of that part is only called "Nich," which may mean any other Nicholas besides Tooley. At the same time it is not at all unlikely to have been Tooley, then a boy, as we suppose, of thirteen or fourteen, and an apprentice to Richard Burbadge, whose name is found in the same piece. Possibly Tooley was introduced only as "Nich," because the writer of the "plat" did not know whether to call him Tooley or Wilkinson;[3] but it is to be observed that in the same document we have Will, Saunder, and Ned as the Christian names of other performers.

He had advanced to the rank of one of one of the "owners and players" at the Blackfriars in 1596, when the principal members of the company addressed the privy council, in order

[1] "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 96.

[2] Mr. P. Cunningham's "Extracts from the Revels' Accounts," p. 102.

[3] He is perhaps the "Nicke" mentioned in Mrs. Alleyn's letter to her absent husband of 20th October, 1603; "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 63. Who was the "old Tooley" mentioned by Nash in his "Have with you to Saffron Waldon," in 1596, where he speaks of his pronunciation of the "neoteric tongues" professed by G. Harvey?

that they might be permitted to complete the repair and enlargement of that theatre: Nicholas Tooley's name is last in the list of eight sharers.

He was not named in the patent granted by James I. at his accession, but when that instrument was renewed and confirmed on 27th March, 1619, Tooley is placed fifth in a list of twelve performers, being preceded only by Heminge, Burbadge (who had died a few days before), Condell, and Lowin. There is no doubt that at this date Tooley was a much employed member of the association called the King's players.

What became of Tooley in the interval between 1596 and 1610 we have little information, unless he were the narrator of the anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbadge in Manningham's Diary, which belongs to the years 1601 and 1602. It is not necessary to repeat the story here,[1] and we only allude to it now, in order to mention that a person of the name of Tooley, Towley, or Towse (for the authority is very imperfectly written and blotted in the MS.) is there quoted as the person who told the incident to Manningham. It is possible that between 1596 and 1610 Tooley, like Kemp, had temporarily joined some other company; but we are to bear in mind, that when Augustine Phillips made his will, in May 1605, he left "his fellow, Nicholas Tooley," a legacy of twenty shillings, mentioning him with other members of the company of the King's players. Therefore, if Tooley retired from the association at all, he had returned to it in 1605; and our reason for imagining that he had not continued with his "master" Burbadge is, that we do not meet with his name as one of the actors in any of Ben Jonson's earlier dramas: if he played in "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour," "Sejanus," or "Volpone," he was not enumerated by their author among the "principal comedians"

[1] It was first quoted in "Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 331. It may also be found in Collier's "Shakespeare, i., cxci.

engaged in their representation. We hear of him in 1610 as one of the ten chief actors in "The Alchemist," and in 1611 as similarly employed in "Catiline;" and his name occupies precisely the same place in both lists, viz, the last but one in the second column. For greater distinctness we will quote them as they stand at the end of "Catiline," in the folio of 1616, which, as we have before stated, we suppose to have been prepared and corrected by Ben Jonson:—

Ric. Burbadge.	John Hemings.
Alex. Cooke.	Hen. Condel.
Joh. Lowin.	Joh. Underwood.
Wil. Ostler.	Nic. Tooly.
Ric. Robinson.	Wil. Eglestone.

We have no clue to the parts he and others took in "The Alchemist" or "Catiline," and the same remark will apply to at least fourteen plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, before which the name of Tooley is inserted as that of one of the actors. Among his latest performances must have been characters in "The Prophetess," "The Sea Voyage," and "The Spanish Curate," all of which were licensed for the stage in 1622. His name is also inserted by the player-editors among the actors of "A Wife for a Month;" but this must be an error not hitherto pointed out: that comedy was not sanctioned for performance by the Master of the Revels until 27th May, 1624, and Tooley had then been dead nearly a year: he did not even act in "The Maid in the Mill," because it was licensed about a month after his decease, but in this instance his name is omitted at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ*.

This circumstance tends to show that Webster's "Duchess of Malfi" (in the *dramatis personæ* of which Tooley's name occurs twice, as the representative of Forobosco, who says nothing, and of one of the madmen, whose part was of course mainly action) must have been reproduced before June, 1623.

As we have before had frequent occasion to remark, the tragedy was originally acted about the year 1616, and then also Tooley performed in it.

Respecting the place of his residence during his theatrical career we can give no satisfactory information: the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, contain a John Tooley; he had lived "on the west side of the Bank, toward Waverley house," but in the margin opposite his name, in 1612, we read "gone," as if he had then removed. We can only guess that he may have been related to Nicholas Tooley.

In the same way we may speculate that there might be a family connexion between our actor and Cuthbert Tooley, who was one of the "chirurgeons" to Queen Anne of Denmark, and who walked at her funeral in 1619, as appears by Sir Lionel Cranfield's account of the ceremony in the Audit Office.

At the time Tooley made his will, dated 3rd June, 1623, he was lodging in the house of Cuthbert Burbadge, which we know was in Holywell Street, Shoreditch; but, for some unexplained reason, he was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, and the entry of the event stands thus in the register:—

Buried. Nicholas Tooley, Gentleman, from the house of Cuthbert Burbidge, Gentleman. 5 June, 1623.

It is very possible that St. Giles was his own parish church, and that he had lived in Cripplegate before his fatal illness: when attacked by it, he may have gone to lodge with Cuthbert Burbadge; and it will be seen that he bequeaths Mrs. Cuthbert Burbadge £10 additional, as a remembrance of his love for the "motherly care" she had bestowed upon him: the expression reads as if he had been the younger of the two, and supposing Tooley to have born, and baptized Nicholas Wilkinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1574-5, he was not fifty at his death.

He mentions neither wife nor child in his will, and the pro-

bability is that he died single: the only relations he speaks of are some persons of the name of Cobb, to whom he released certain small debts and gave small legacies, but he left the bulk of his property, "goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate," to his "loving friends," Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, to be equally divided between them. He was under bond for £10 for Joseph Taylor, which he directed his executors to pay: John Underwood and William Ecclestone owed him money, which he released them; but he bequeathed £29 13*s*. 0*d*., which Richard Robinson was indebted to him, to Sarah Burbadge, daughter of his "late master, Richard Burbadge," as a marriage portion, or, if unmarried, to be paid to her when she came of age.

His charitable bequests (not including £10 for his funeral sermon) were £80 to St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for the distribution of thirty-two penny wheaten loaves every Sunday to the poor; and we learn from Stow's Survey, by Strype, that the vicar, churchwardens, and vestrymen of the parish, purchased with the £80 a yearly rent-charge, "issuing out of the George in Holywell Street," for the true performance of the trust:[1] Tooley also gave £20 to the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, for the distribution of eight penny loaves every Sunday; but in what way this object was secured in that parish we are unable to state. He was "sick in body" when he made the following will, on 3rd June, 1623; and as he was buried on the 5th June, we may conclude that he died on the 4th June, but of what disorder no where appears.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynd and memorie, praised be God therefore, doe make and declare this my last will and testament, in forme following; that is to say: first, I commend my soule into the hands of Almightie God, the Father, trusting and assuredlie beleeving, that by the merits of the precious death and passion of his only sonne, and my

[1] Stow's Survey, by Strype, edit. 1720, B. iv., p. 53.

only Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtaine full and free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of Heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My bodie I committ to the earth from whence yt came, to be buried in decent manner, at the discretion of my executors hereunder named. My worldlie substance I doe dispose of as followeth:

Imprimis, I give unto my good friend, Mr. Thomas Adams, preacher of God's word, whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall sermon, the some of ten pounds.

Item, I doe release and forgive unto my kinswoman, Mary Cobb of London, widdowe, the some of fyve pounds which she oweth me, and I do give unto her the some of fyve pounds more.

Item, I do release and forgive unto her sonne, Peter Cobb, the somme of sixe pounds which he oweth me.

Item, I doe give unto her sonne, John Cobb, the somme of sixe pounds.

Item, I do give unto her daughter, Margaret Moseley, the some of fyve pounds.

Item, I doe give unto Mrs. Burbadge, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Cutbert Burbadge, (in whose house I doe nowe lodge) as a remembrance of my love, in respect of her motherlie care over me, the some of tenn pounds, over and besides such sommes of money as I shall owe unto her att my decease.

Item, I do give unto her daughter, Elizabeth Burbadge, alias Maxey, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such thinges as she shall thinke moste meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seal shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for payment thereof, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, and as fully as if her pretended husband should make and seale the same with her.

Item, I give to Alice Walker, the sister of my late Mr. Burbadge, deceased, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such thinges as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seale shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for the payment thereof, to all intents, purposes,

and constructions, and as fully as if her husband should make and seale the same with her.

Item, I give unto Sara Burbadge, the daughter of my said late m^r., Richard Burbadge, deceased, that somme of twentye and nyne pounds and thirteen shillings, which is owing unto me by Richard Robinson, to be recouvered, retayned, and disposed of by my executors hereunder named, until her marriage, or age of twenty and one years, (which shall first and next happen) without any allowaunce to be made of use, otherwise then as they in their discretions shall think meete to allow unto her.

Item, I give unto Mrs. Condell, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Henry Condell, as a remembrance of my love, the sum of fyve pounds.

Item, I give unto Elizabeth Condell, the daughter of the said Henry Condell, the somme of tenn pounds.

Item, whereas I stand bound for Joseph Taylor, as his surety for payment of tenn pounds, or thereabouts, my will is, that my executors shall out of my estate pay that debt for him, and discharge him out of that bond.

Item, I do release and forgive unto John Underwood and William Ecclestone, all such sommes of money as they do severally owe unto me.

Item, I do give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall reliefe of the poore people of the parishe of St. Leonard, in Shoreditche, in the county of Middlesex, under the condition hereunder expressed, the some of fourscore pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parish, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the parson, churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the said parishe, for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, in such sort as that on everie Sunday after morninge prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe, thirtie and two penny wheaten loaves for their relief. Provided alwaies, and my will and mind is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my will, then, and in such case, I give and bequeath the same legacie of fourcore pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poore people in the parishe of St. Gyles without Cripplegate, London, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

Item, I doe give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall relief of the poore of the said parishe of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London,

under the condition hereunder expressed, the somme of twenty pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parishe, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the same parishe for the tyme being, or the greater nomber of them, in such sort as that on every Sunday after morning prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe eight penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe: provided alwaies, and my will and mynd is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaninge of this my will, then and in such case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds for and towards the relieſe of the poorer people of the said parishe of St. Leonard in Shorditche, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

Item, my will and mynd is, and I doe hereby devise and appoynt, that all and singuler the legacies bequeathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine tyme is otherwise limited): shalbe truly payd by my executors, hereunder named, within the space of one yeare att the furthest next after my decease. All the rest and residue of all and singular my goods, chattels, leases, money, debtes, and personall estate, whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes, legacies, and funerall charges discharged), I doe fully and wholly give and bequeath unto my aforenamed loving friends, Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, to be equally devided betweene them, parte and parte like. And I doe make, name, and constitute the said Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the executors of this my last will and testament. And I doe hereby revoke and make voyd all former wills, testaments, codicills, legacies, executors, and bequests whatsoever, by me att any tyme heretofore made, named, given or appointed, willing and mynding that theis precedents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

In witness whereof to this my last will and testament, conteyninge foure sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to everie sheete, I have sett my seale the third day of June, 1623, and in the one and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James, &c.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared by the said Nicholas Tooley,

the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

The marke + of ANNE ASPLIN.
The marke + of MARY COBER.
The marke + of JOANE BOOTH.
The marke + of AGNES DAWSON.
The marke E. B. of ELIZABETH BOLTON.
The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.
The marke + of ISABEL STANLEY.
HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.
And of me, RO. DICKENS, serv^{t}. unto the said Notary.

Memorandum, that I, Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, of London, gentleman, have on the day of the date of theis presents, by the name of Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, made my last will and testament in writing, conteyning foure sheetes of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheete, and sealed with my seale, and thereby have given and bequeathed divers personall legacies to divers persons, and for divers uses, and therefore have made, named, and constituted my lovinge friends, Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, the executors, as thereby may more at large appeare. Now, for the explanation, cleering, avoyding, and determination of all such ambiguities, doubtes, scruples, questions, and variances about the validite of my said last will, as may arise, happen, or be moved after my decease, by reason of the omission of my name of Wilkinson therein, I doe therefore, by this my presente codicil, by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, ratifie, confirme, and approve my said last will and everie gifte, legacye, and bequest therein expressed, and the executors therein named, as fully and amply, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, as if I had been so named in my said last will, any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last will, or any scruple, doubt, question, variance, misinterpretation, cavill or misconstruction whatsoever, to be had, moved, made or inferred thereupon or thereby, or any other matter, cause, or thinge whatsoever, to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And I doe hereby alsoe further declare, that my will, mynd, and meaning is, that this my presente codicil shalbe, by all judges, magistrates and other persons, in all courts and other places, and to all intents and purposes, expounded,

construed, deemed, reputed and taken to be as parte and parcell of my said last will and testament. As witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the thirde day of June, 1623, and in the one and twentieth year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord King James, &c.

NICHOLAS WILKINSON, āls TOOLEY. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared by the said Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, as a codicil to be annexed unto his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

SIMON DREWE.
The marke I. S. of ISABELL STANLEY.
The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.
HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.
And of me, RO. DICKENS, serv^t. unto the said Notary.

The proof of the will, according to Chalmers,[1] who first printed it, was made by Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, the executors, on 17th June, 1624, more than a year after the death of the testator.

[1] "Apology for the Believers," p. 456.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

There is little doubt that the family, from which William Ecclestone (or Egglestone) sprang, resided at an early date in Southwark: the token-books inform us that a person of that name, perhaps the father of our actor, dwelt in 1583 "on the west side of the Bank:" in 1601 the same individual (his Christian name is given in neither instance) seems to have lived in Swan Alley, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Swan theatre. We have met with no entry of the birth of William Ecclestone, but he was probably married in 1603, as we find by the register of St. Saviour's:—

1602, Feb. 20. Married, William Eglestone and Anne Jacob.

If a family were the fruit of this union, we have no record of it in the parishes, the registers of which we have examined with a view to the discovery of such particulars.[1]

When first we hear of William Ecclestone, in connexion with the stage, he was a member of the association to which Shakespeare still belonged, though he had ceased to act some years before the name of Ecclestone occurs in any list of the company. Ecclestone was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's

[1] We noticed the baptisms of two William Ecclestones, but at too modern dates for our purpose, and the name of the father did not correspond: one at St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—

"Baptized, 26 Sept., 1612, William, the sonne of Robert Egleston."

The other at St. Anne, Blackfriars:—

"William Egglestone, sonne to Edward and Elizabeth, baptized 11 Feb., 1619."

There were Ecclestones also in Shoreditch as early as 1578, when Jane Ecclestone was buried at St. Leonard's.

"Alchemist," performed in 1610, and in the same author's "Catiline," brought out in 1611. He had no part (at least his name is not given by the author) in "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour," "Sejanus," or "Volpone;" so that we may presume he became one of the King's players between 1605 and 1610: in "The Alchemist" and "Catiline" Will. Ecclestone comes last in the author's enumeration of "the principal comedians."

However unimportant might be the characters he sustained on those occasions, the appearance of Ecclestone's name among the actors in "Catiline" establishes (a point with which Gifford could not be acquainted) that that tragedy was acted before 29th August, 1611; because at that date Ecclestone had quitted the King's company, and had joined the association called the players of Prince Henry, consisting of twelve principal performers or sharers, his name being inserted fourth in the document from which we derive our information. It is a bond entered into with Henslowe, by the actors in his pay, for the performance of certain articles under his management at the Fortune, and it is preserved among Alleyn's papers at Dulwich College.[1] We learn from the same instrument, that Joseph Taylor had also at that date abandoned his quarters and his companions at the Globe and Blackfriars, and his name immediately precedes that of Ecclestone in the enumeration of the company Henslowe had formed: it may be worth while to repeat it here, that the reader may see who were the associates of Taylor and Ecclestone at this period.

John Townsend.	John Rice.
Will. Barksted.	Robt. Hamlett.
Joseph Taylor.	Will. Carpenter.
William Ecclestone.	Thomas Basse.
Giles Cary.	Joseph Moore.
Thomas Hunt.	Alexander Foster.

[1] See a copy of it, with the names of all the players appended, in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 98.

For what reasons Taylor and Ecclestone had consented, in the summer of 1611, to act with a rival company at the Fortune, we have no means of knowing: Taylor perhaps thought he had not room enough for the display of his powers in an association of which Burbadge was the leading member, and Ecclestone may have been dissatisfied with his inferior position, recollecting that his name comes last in Ben Jonson's two lists of the ten performers in his "Alchemist" and "Catiline." Neither of them continued long under the control of Henslowe (who, as we shall see presently, contrived to quarrel with his company), and we meet with their names as performers in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Honest Man's Fortune," which was brought out by the King's players in 1613.[1] It is to be observed, however, that Burbadge had no part in this drama, the principal actors being Nathan Field, Robert Benfield, Emmanuel Read, Joseph Taylor, William Ecclestone, and Thomas Basse. Thomas Basse, therefore, was another actor who had forsaken Henslowe, and followed Taylor and Ecclestone, when they rejoined their old associates of the Globe and Blackfriars.

Among "The Alleyn Papers"[2] is a curious document, originally derived from Dulwich College, but not now preserved there, relating to the dispute between Henslowe and the actors, whom he had collected in August, 1611. Hence it appears that, before Taylor quitted the Prince's players, he borrowed £30 of Henslowe, which the old manager "cunningly" placed in his account as a debit from the whole company: on the other hand, Henslowe had obtained £14 from Ecclestone, which, it is charged, he had never brought to the credit of the association. The date of February, 1614-15, is

[1] In 1624 Sir Henry Herbert called it "an old play," and a MS. of it was in the library of Mr. Heber, thus entitled "The Honest Man's Fortune. Plaide in the yeare 1613."

[2] Printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

given in this paper, so that it refers to a period two years after Taylor and Ecclestone had ceased to perform at the Fortune.

Ecclestone remained one of his Majesty's servants in 1619, because his name is included in the confirmation then granted by James I. of his patent of 1603. He was either dead, had retired from the stage, or had joined some other company in 1625; for when Charles I. renewed the patent of his father, Ecclestone's name is not to be found in it.[1] If he were dead, we are without any record of his burial: if he had retired from the stage, we have no notice of the fact; and if he had joined some other company, we do not meet with his name anywhere as a member of it. Had he continued one of the King's players in 1625, he could hardly have been omitted in the patent of Charles I.

The latest date at which he can be traced on the stage is about 1622, for he was a performer in some of Fletcher's plays, brought out at that period. His name is inserted in the lists, under the *dramatis personæ* of "The Little French Lawyer," "The Custom of the Country," "Bonduca," "The Laws of Candy," "The Loyal Subject," "The Mad Lover," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "Women Pleased," "The Island Princess," "The Sea Voyage," "The Spanish Curate," &c. Some of these were produced, as we have said, in 1622; but if William Ecclestone were the author of the lines subscribed W. E., before Taylor and Lowin's edition of "The Wild Goose Chase" in 1652, he must have lived to an advanced time of life: supposing him to have been married in 1603, according to the register at St. Saviour's, he could scarcely have been less than seventy in 1652. No will by any William Ecclestone of that period has been discovered.

JOSEPH TAYLOR.

Among the baptisms at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, close by the Blackfriars theatre, we meet with that of a Joseph Taylor, which, from the correspondence of dates, we may very reasonably consider the registration of our actor. It runs thus, without any mention of parents, or place of residence:—

Joseph Taylor, baptized 6 Feb., 1585.

In no other register have we seen the baptism of a Joseph Taylor, that in point of date would so well answer our purpose, and in the course of the following memoir we shall assume that our quotation applies to the subject of it.[1] We shall see pre-

[1] Joseph Taylor, the actor, is not to be confounded with John Taylor, the water-poet, who was much concerned with players, and whose initials being the same as those of Joseph Taylor, may occasion mistakes in the old parish records. John Taylor at one time lived in Southwark, and he is now and then spoken of as J. Taylor, but the actor is uniformly called Joseph Taylor. We may here introduce an epitaph upon John Taylor, which has never been reprinted, that we recollect, and which corrects Anthony Wood's conjecture (Ath., Oxon., iii., 765, edit. Bliss), as to the birth and death of the water-poet. It is from a work called "Sportive Wit: the Muses Merriment." 8vo., 1656.

"An Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the City of Glocester, died in Phœnix Alley in the 75 yeare of his age: you may finde him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden churchyard:—

"Here lies John Taylor, without rime or reason,
For death struck his muse in so cold a season,
That Jack lost the use of his scullers to row;
The chill pate rascal would not let his boat go.

sently that he was an inhabitant of Southwark in 1607, and he married the daughter of a widow of the name of Ingle in 1610, at St. Saviour's church, where the ceremony seems registered as follows:—

Married, 1610, May 2, Joseph Taylor and Elizabeth Ingle.

"The widow Ingle," as appears by the token-books of the liberty of the Clink, lived on "the east side of the Bank;" but Taylor's residence, in 1607, had been in "Mr. Langley's new rents, near the playhouse," meaning probably the Globe, with the company performing at which, in the next year at least, Taylor was importantly connected. He perhaps occupied the same house when he married, but it is more likely that he removed to Austen's Rents, where we find him in 1612, and where he continued in 1615. In 1617 "gone" is written against his name, but whither he had removed we have not been able to ascertain: he had probably quitted Southwark, because, if he had any children between 1617 and 1623 (when by the token-books we learn that he was again

Alas, poor Jack Taylor! this 'tis to drink ale
With nutmegs and ginger, with a toste though stale:
It drencht thee in rimes. Hadst thou been of the pack
With Draiton and Johnson to quaff off thy sack,
They'd infus'd thee a genius should nere expire,
And have thawd thy muse with elemental fire.
Yet still, for the honour of thy sprightly wit,
Since some of thy fancies so handsomely hit,
The nymphs of the rivers, for thy relation,
Sirnamed thee the *water-poet* of the nation.
Who can write more of thee, let him do't for me,
A pox take all rimers, Jack Taylor, but thee.
Weep not, reader, if thou canst chuse,
Over the stone of so merry a muse."

Sign. Ii 1.

The same work contains "Another from the University," but it is hardly worth quoting.

"near the playhouse"), they were not baptized at St. Saviour's. He was still "near the playhouse" in 1629; but in 1631 it is stated generally that he lived "on the Bankside," and in 1633, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, his abode was in Gravel Lane.

These are minute points, with which Malone and Chalmers were not acquainted, the token-books not having been discovered when they made their searches at St. Saviour's: the registers were however available, and from them they made various quotations in reference to other players: it is singular, therefore, that they did not observe one of the five entries respecting the children of Joseph and Elizabeth Taylor, commencing in 1612, and ending in 1623. We subjoin them in succession as they stand in the books, that we may complete our domestic information, before we speak of Taylor in his public capacity:—

1612, July 12. Elsabeth Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1614, July 21. Dixsye Taylor, Joseph Taylor, } twinns of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1615, Jan. 11. Jone Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1617, June 1. Robert Taylor, sonne of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1623, Aug. 24. Anne Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

The addition of "a player" in every instance removes the possibility of doubt, and we can only be surprised at the carelessness of preceding biographers, who omitted the memoranda we have above quoted. If Joseph Taylor lost any children, they were not buried at St. Saviour's; and, as we have already remarked, we have found no trace of the baptism of any between 1617 and 1623, when we suppose that he and his wife lived out of the parish of St. Saviour's.

In his connexion with theatres and companies of actors, Taylor seems early in life to have been somewhat unsettled and capricious; but there is, here and there, an apparent confusion, if not contradiction, in our extant information.

He was in his twenty-third year in 1608, and this is the earliest date at which his name occurs in relation to the stage. He was about that time the owner of a share and a half in the receipts at the Blackfriars theatre, valued at £350,[1] and as he was in this important position, as regards the very prosperous association called the King's players, we are, we think, warranted in concluding that he had then been some years on the stage, and that, like many others, he began his career as a boy.

We have already shown in the memoir of Richard Burbadge that he was the original Hamlet, so that although Wright may be quite correct when he says, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Taylor performed that part "incomparably well," he must be speaking of a date subsequent to the death of Burbadge, when, no doubt, Hamlet devolved into the hands of Taylor. Downes, who could know nothing of the matter but by remote stage-tradition, asserts that Taylor was instructed in the proper mode of acting Hamlet by Shakespeare,[2] and he may have occasionally taken it as the "double" of Burbadge, when the latter could not perform; but we may be quite sure that Burbadge did not relinquish so prominent and applauded a character until his death. Wright was better informed upon such subjects than to state that Taylor was Hamlet when that tragedy was first produced, and when Burbadge was in the height of his powers and reputation. It is no doubt true, and it is a matter that may have come within the knowledge of Downes, that Sir W. Davenant, who had seen Taylor, taught Betterton how to act Hamlet, but Downes was not aware that Taylor had had a predecessor in the part, a fact with which we are acquainted on indisputable authority.

We must conclude that not long after 1608 Taylor disposed of his share and a half in the receipts of the Blackfriars theatre: the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were then making a renewed attempt to exclude the King's players from

[1] Collier's "Shakespeare," i., ccxx.

[2] "Roscius Anglicanus," 8vo., 1708, p. 21.

that privileged precinct, and Taylor might sell his property, under the mistaken apprehension that the city authorities would succeed. Certain it is that in August, 1611, he had become one of the players of Prince Henry, under Philip Henslowe,[1] but he continued a member of that association only for a short time, for in 1613 he had rejoined the actors at the Globe and Blackfriars. Taylor would hardly have remained a sharer in the profits of the Blackfriars while he was himself acting with a body of theatrical competitors: whether he returned to his old quarters on the same terms, as those he enjoyed about 1608, is a point that cannot now be settled.

Soon after the death of Prince Henry, most of his players became those of the Palatine of the Rhine; and there is reason to believe that Taylor belonged to this body before it "broke" and was dissolved. He seems to have shifted about a good deal at this period, and in 1614 he unquestionably was one of the Lady Elizabeth's servants. The following extract from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber is decisive upon this point:—

To Joseph Taylor, for himself and the rest of his fellows, servants to the Lady Elizabeth, her grace, upon the Council's warrant, dated at Whitehall, 21 June, 1614, for presenting before his Majesty a comedy called Eastward Ho! on the 25th of January last past, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; and by way of his Majesty's reward, 66*s.* 8*d.*—in all, £10. To him more, upon a like warrant of a like date, for presenting before the Prince's Highness a comedy called the Dutch Courtesan, on the 12th of December last past, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[2]

[1] See our Memoir of William Ecclestone, p. 246, and "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 98. By a patent, only very recently discovered by Mr. T. E. Tomlins, and for the ready communication of which the Shakespeare Society is indebted to him, it appears that on 30th March, 8 Jac. I., Joseph Taylor was nominated one of the players of the Duke of York. The document will be printed in the next volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers.

[2] Mr. P. Cunningham's Revels' Accounts, Introd., p. xliv.

This memorandum is remarkable, also, because it shows that a comedy—"Eastward Ho!"—which gave so much offence to James I. when it was originally produced, that he imprisoned the authors of it (Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston), was not very long afterwards, by omitting passages reflecting on the Scotch, rendered so palatable to the court, that it was played before the king. Both that comedy and "The Dutch Courtesan" (written by Marston alone) had been printed eight or nine years before the date of this record of their performance at Whitehall.

In 1615 Joseph Taylor was at the head of the players of Prince Charles, formed in part, as well as we can now judge, of the servants of the Princess Elizabeth: by this date the company of the Prince Palatine seems to have re-united, and formed a distinct and independent association. After the death of Henslowe, in January 1616, Edward Alleyn again, and of necessity, mixed himself up with the management of the Prince's players at the Fortune: we learn that Taylor, Pallant, W. Rowley, Newton, Hamton, Atwell, Smyth, and others, had performed for Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, after it had been fitted up as an occasional theatre; but as soon as Henslowe was dead, Meade took measures which so annoyed the players, that they were obliged to make an appeal to Alleyn; and this document, subscribed by the seven principal actors, has been preserved, and is printed, with a facsimile of their handwritings, in one of the publications of the Shakespeare Society.[1] Taylor and his associates requested from Alleyn a loan of £40, to supply their urgent exigencies, professing their readiness to give him the security of £80, then due to them for performances at court, but not yet payable in the regular course of such transactions. We may presume that Alleyn complied, and we afterwards learn that many, if not all the subscribers, including of course Taylor, were members of Alleyn's company at the Fortune.

[1] The Alleyn Papers, p. 86 and 87.

Our persuasion is that Taylor did not again attach himself to the King's players until after the death of Burbadge: perhaps he was invited to join them upon very advantageous terms, with a view of partially supplying the irreparable loss of the company. Field already belonged to it, and his name is therefore found in the renewed patent of 1619, but that of Taylor is wanting, and, as we apprehend, for this reason: when it was drawn up, Burbadge was living and in good health, but for some unexplained cause it was not dated until about a fortnight after his death: it then became necessary to recruit the association; and, as the demise of Queen Anne occasioned a cessation of dramatic performances for about two months, the King's players employed the interval in negociating with Taylor for his return.

That he did return, either then, or soon afterwards, we are able to produce evidence, which also establishes the additional fact that one of Burbadge's characters was assigned to Taylor. We allude to the edition of Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," in 1623, which we have often before had occasion to mention in reference to the two lists of actors it contains—the one as the tragedy was played about 1616, and the other as it was played about 1622. In 1616, Burbadge had the character of Duke Ferdinand in it, but in 1622 the part was given to Taylor: according to our supposition, Taylor had then belonged to the King's players since 1619, but this, it will be recollected, was the second time he had been a member of that association. In 1622 Taylor's services became the more necessary, because Field, as we have stated in his memoir, had then retired altogether from the profession.

In the list of the twenty-six "principal actors in all these plays," prefixed to the folio Shakespeare of 1623, the name of Joseph Taylor stands only the twenty-first, which may or may not show that he had little to do with the original representation of the characters of our great dramatist. This is a point we cannot pretend to determine. Of the parts Taylor sus-

tained in the plays of Shakespeare we know little: only two have been handed down to us, but they are so important as strongly to confirm our belief that after the death of Burbadge Taylor in many instances assumed his buskins. One of these —Hamlet—has been already spoken of, and the other is Iago, which has been assigned to him on the same authority.[1] In Iago he did not follow Burbadge, because Burbadge's part was Othello, and after his death Field succeeded to it, while Swanston took it after Field.

It may be doubted whether Taylor appeared originally in any of Ben Jonson's plays—certainly not in any included in the folio of 1616, although we have the evidence of Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that he subsequently obtained much reputation for his Mosca in "Volpone," for his Truewit in "Epicœne," and for his Face in "The Alchemist." He may have acted in some of the same author's later works, particularly in his "Bartholomew Fair," which was brought out by the Princess Elizabeth's servants in 1614, when Taylor was in the company. Taylor acted many parts in Beaumont and Fletcher's productions, his name being frequently found among the actors enumerated in the folios, but what those parts were we can generally only guess, because they are not specified: one of his characters was certainly Rollo, in "The Bloody Brother," and another Mirabel, in "The Wild Goose Chase."[2] The *dramatis personæ* of Massinger's "Roman Actor" and "Picture," prove that Taylor was Paris in the first, and Mathias in the second: he wrote some commendatory verses

[1] Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

[2] According to Shakerly, Marmion's lines "unto his worthy friend, Master Joseph Taylor," the latter was mainly and successfully instrumental in the revival of "The Faithful Shepherdess" at court, just before its republication in 1633. Taylor evidently had a part in it, although his character has not been ascertained: Marmion says—

"Yet did it not receive more honour from
The glorious pomp, than thine own action," &c.

to "The Roman Actor," when it was printed, in 1629, which were addressed to "his long known and loved friend," the author, and end thus:—

———but why I write to thee
Is, to profess our love's antiquity,
Which to this tragedy must give my test:
Thou hast made many good, but this thy best.

All the lines run easily, and, if they have reached us in the state in which they were first penned by Taylor, they show that he was not a contemptible verse-maker, although we are acquainted with no more specimens of his skill. Another of his ascertained characters is the Duke, in Lodowick Carlell's "Deserving Favourite," and the list, as far as we can make it out, proves that he must have been not only a performer of great ability, but of very versatile talents.[1]

Not long after the date of which we are now speaking, Taylor appears to have become one of the leaders of the King's players, in conjunction with Lowin. Malone tells us that Heminge "continued chief director of the company to the time of his death," and in a certain sense this is true; but it is indisputable that he had ceased to act for some years, and that Taylor and Lowin sometimes took the places of Heminge and Condell, in their intercourse with the Master of the Revels, and other officers of the court, on the subject of theatrical performances. At the close of 1624,[2] the company incurred the dis-

[1] We learn from a passage in Gayton's Notes on "Don Quixote," fo. 1654, that Taylor had been the representative of Arbaces in Beaumont and Fletcher's "King and no King."

[2] See the incident duly noticed, p. 177 of this volume. At this date, or a little earlier, Taylor seems to have been by no means rich; and in our memoir of Nicholas Tooley we have shown that, having become bound for Taylor in the sum of £10, when he made his will, in 1623, Tooley kindly directed that his executors should pay the money, and discharge Taylor from the obligation.

pleasure of Sir H. Herbert, the Master of the Revels, by performing a play entitled "The Spanish Viceroy," without his permission. For this act of insubordination they were called to account; and as we have inserted the submission of the eleven members of the company, with Taylor and Lowin at their head, in a previous part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat here.[1]

The first royal patent in which the name of Taylor occurs, as a member of the King's company of players, bears date 24th June, 1625, soon after Charles I. had ascended the throne. Heminge and Condell are still introduced as the heads of the association, but they had in fact retired from the more ostensible duties of the profession, and left Lowin and Taylor, whose names come third and fourth in the instrument, as the real leaders:[2] when, however, on 30th December following, a hundred marks were ordered to be paid to the company as the royal bounty, "for better furnishing them with apparel" that they might perform before the King, the warrant was made out in the name of Taylor alone.[3] Together with Heminge,

[1] P. 177. In August preceding, the company had got into disgrace for acting Middleton's "Game at Chess." We may here correct an error into which the Rev. Mr. Dyce has fallen in his "Account of Middleton and his Works," i., xxxv: it occurs where he cites an entry from the registers of the Privy Council, stating that Edward Middleton, having been sent for by warrant, had tendered his appearance. For "Edward," the Rev. Mr. Dyce substitutes "Thomas," within brackets, as if "Edward" had been a clerical error for "Thomas." The fact is, as appears by other parts of the registers, that on 30th August, 1624, a warrant had been issued "to bring one Middleton, *sonne to Middleton the poet*, before their Lordships to answer," in consequence of which *Edward* Middleton, the son of Thomas Middleton, tendered his appearance. In an earlier part of his Memoir, (p. xii) the Rev. Mr. Dyce mentions that Middleton had a son of the name of Edward, who was nineteen in 1623, which renders the mistake evident.

[2] Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 2. [3] Ibid, ii., 6.

Lowin, and eleven others, in 1629 Taylor was provided as usual, from the royal wardrobe in the Blackfriars, with a cloak of bastard-scarlet and crimson velvet for the cape.[1] In 1634, four years after the death of Heminge, Eliard Swanston is put forward with Lowin and Taylor as heads of the King's players, and on 27th April of that year they had a warrant for £220, the money due to them for represention at court during twelve months.[2] In 1636, Swanston's name is omitted, and Lowin and Taylor were paid £210 for twenty-one plays; and in 1637 they (in conjunction with Christopher Beeston, the master of "the King and Queen's young company") had influence enough to obtain from the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, an unprecedented order to the Stationers' Company against the printing of plays in which the two associations had an interest.[3]

The precise year when Taylor was appointed Yeoman of the Revels, under Sir Henry Herbert, was not accurately given in any authority, until it was ascertained by Mr. P. Cunningham from the original patent, bearing date 11th November, 1639: in it the office is called "Yeoman or Keeper of our Vestures or Apparel;"[4] and, as it seems to be the first time the post was ever filled by an actor, we must, no doubt, mainly attribute his selection to his high claims in that capacity. An increase of £3 6*s*. 8*d*. had been made in the salary in 1630, in consequence of additional attendance during the month of October,[5] but the total emoluments appear to have been inconsiderable.

About three years after Taylor had obtained this office, the theatres were closed, the civil wars having commenced. On the 2nd September, 1642, was issued the "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons" suppressing all theatrical performances: this

[1] Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 20.

[2] Ibid., ii., 64. [3] Ibid ii., 83.

[4] Extracts from the Revels' Accounts, Introd., p. l.

[5] Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 72.

order was more effectually enforced in 1647; and the actors, being deprived of this means of obtaining a livelihood, resorted to various expedients: one of these was the publication of the first folio impression of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1647. Ten actors put their names to the dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in two columns, at the head of the first being John Lowin, and at the head of the second, Joseph Taylor. The reader may like to see who were the members of the disorganized association, if association it could be called, in 1647, and we subjoin the names as they stand in the printed copy.

John Lowin.	Joseph Taylor.
Richard Robinson.	Robert Benfield.
Eylærd Swanston.	Thomas Pollard.
Hugh Clearke.	William Allen.
Stephen Hammerton.	Theophilus Byrd.

Five years afterwards, the two leaders of this body of disbanded players, having recovered "The Wild Goose Chase," (which they could not obtain for insertion in the folio) printed it with the purpose of obtaining a small supply of money. In 1652 their necessities seem to have been very pressing, all theatrical performances being completely at an end: we have adverted to this point in our memoir of Lowin.

Wright tells us, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Lowin, Taylor, and Pollard, were superannuated at the breaking out of the Rebellion; and as Taylor was born, we believe, in 1585, he was not far from seventy when "The Wild Goose Chase" came from the press, and when it became necessary for him to raise a few pounds. He had now to begin the world again—

> At seventeen years many their fortunes seek,
> But at fourscore it is too late a week—

and he only survived until the next year. Richard Flecknoe published his "Characters" (referred to by Malone) in 1665,

but he introduces one which he tells us was written in 1654, and there he speaks of Joseph Taylor as dead: "He is one who, now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table, and, since Taylor's death, none can play Mosca so well as he." Wright states that Taylor died at Richmond, and was buried there.[1]

From the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we learn that there was a player of the name of Thomas Taylor, who had a child christened and buried there in 1624 and 1625. Whether he were any relation to Joseph Taylor we have not been able to discover; but we hear of Thomas Taylor, as an actor, on no other authority.

[1] Lysons in his "Environs," i., 466, says, "Joseph Taylor, an eminent actor, who died in 1653, is said to have been buried at Richmond, but there is no memorial of him to be found in the church or churchyard, and the register is not so ancient."

ROBERT BENFIELD.

Malone and Chalmers only state that Benfield was an actor in "The Duchess of Malfi," "The Deserving Favourite," "The Picture," "The Roman Actor," and "The Wild Goose Chase:" the fact is, that he was also engaged in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Coxcomb," "The Honest Man's Fortune," "The Knight of Malta," "The Mad Lover," "The False One," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "The Pilgrim," "The Prophetess," "The Maid in the Mill," "The Wife for a Month," and several other dramas by the same authors. Although the characters he filled are not enumerated, excepting in the instances of Antonio in "The Duchess of Malfi," the King in "The Deserving Favourite," Ladislaus in "The Picture," Junius Rusticus in "The Roman Actor," and De Gard in "The Wild Goose Chase," it is very clear, from the frequency of the claims upon him, that he was a very serviceable member of the King's company. When he first joined that association, or from whence he came, is not known; his name does not occur in any of the lists of young players, acting as the Children of the Chapel, the Children of the Revels, &c., until 1613. In "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," a person of the name of Benfield is mentioned as a resident in the Liberty of the Clink in 1609; but this, as has been since ascertained, was not our actor, but "Mr. William Benfield," of the token-books of St. Saviour's, who was a vestryman in 1607, churchwarden in 1611, and who was buried in 1619. He had lived in the parish in 1596, and, for aught we know, might be the father of our Robert Benfield, one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays.

It may on good grounds be doubted, whether Benfield was

an original performer in any of the productions of our great dramatist, and whether he joined the association of the King's dramatic servants before the retirement of Shakespeare to his native town. He is not mentioned by Ben Jonson as having been concerned in the representation of any of his dramas between 1598 and 1611; and the earliest date at which we hear of him, as a player, is in "The Coxcomb," already mentioned, when he was one of the Children of the Queen's Revels, and played with Field, Taylor, and five others: this comedy was acted in 1613, and there can be little doubt that it was its first appearance on the stage. Benfield was not one of the original performers in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," about 1616; but, on its revival, not long before it was printed in 1623, he had succeeded Ostler in the part of Antonio Bologna. This circumstance has already been pointed out.[1]

We apprehend that Benfield was not taken into the King's company, until about the same date that Field and Taylor joined it for the second time. Benfield's name follows that of Field in the confirmation of the patent of 1603, granted by James I., in 1619: we do not before hear of him in this association. In the patent of Charles I., on his accession, his name stands sixth in the list of thirteen performers, following that of Richard Robinson, and Field having before this period retired from the profession. In the preceding year, Benfield had been included in the submission of the company to the Master of the Revels for having acted "The Spanish Viceroy" without license.

He was married before 1617, perhaps before he was promoted to the theatrical service of James I., but we have not been able to find the registration: his first child (at least, the first of which we have any intelligence) died in the autumn of 1617, and the burial is thus recorded at St. Bartholomew's the Great, in which parish he most likely resided:—

Robert, the sonne of Robert Benfield, was buried 15 Oct., 1617.

[1] See this volume, p. 205.

He subsequently took up his residence in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and there, after an interval of about fourteen years, we learn that two more of his children were interred. We quote the following from the registers:—

Buried. Bartholomew, the sonne of Robert Benfield, gent. 21 July, 1631.

Buried. Eliz., daughter of Robert Benfield, player. 1 Aug., 1631.

Where these, or any other of his children were born, we are unable to trace, but Malone and Chalmers failed to discover even this scanty information.

He seems to have continued a member of the company of the King's players to the last: in 1629 he had the usual allowance of bastard scarlet and velvet for a cloak; and from this date we hear no more of him until after the imperfect closing of the theatres in 1642. In 1647 he was one of the ten surviving players who signed the dedication of the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. How long Benfield survived this publication we are without evidence; but if we suppose him to have been fifteen in 1613, when he played with the rest of the Children of the Queen's Revels in "The Coxcomb," he was not fifty when the ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons for "the better suppression of stage-plays, interludes, and common players."[1] Until then, (22 Oct., 1647) the efforts of the puritans to this end do not seem to have been quite effectual.[2]

Where he died, in the confusion of the times which preceded and followed this event, cannot perhaps be ascertained: no will by Benfield has come to light, nor any administration of his estate, and we may possibly infer, from this and other circumstances, that he left little or no property behind him.

[1] Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 110.

[2] The ordinance was followed by an act "For the Suppression of Stage-plays and Interludes," published in Scobell's "Collection of Acts and Ordinances" from 1640 to 1656, under date of 11th Feb., 1647-8.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

We are able to furnish some particulars regarding Goughe and his family, beyond the brief notice of him by Malone and Chalmers. The former says, "I suppose he was the father of Alexander Goughe;"[1] but there is not the slightest doubt on the point, as we shall show presently: Alexander Goughe, who was an actor until the closing of the theatres, and who published "The Widow" (by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton) in 1652, was the son of Robert Goughe, who, having played Aspasia in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" before 1588, was unquestionably one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays.

We may conclude that Robert Goughe was young in 1588, from his having taken (as far as we can judge) a female part; but he must have outgrown that class of characters long before 1611 (the date assigned by Malone) when he was the usurping tyrant in "The Second Maiden's Tragedy," because he was married early in the spring of 1603, as appears by the subsequent extract from the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark:—

Married: 1602, Feb. 13, Robert Gough and Elizabeth ——.

The clerk did not know the surname of the wife, but we can supply it from other sources. She was sister to Augustine Phillips, mentioned in her brother's will, in 1605, as Elizabeth Goughe, while her husband was one of the witnesses to it.[2] In

[1] The name was spelt indifferently, Gough, or Goffe: it is Goughe in the list of "the principal actors in all these plays," prefixed to the folio of 1623.

[2] See this vol., pp. 86. 88.

1603 Thomas Pope had left to him and John Edmonds (another actor) "all his arms and all his wearing apparel, to be equally divided between them." On the foundation of this bequest Chalmers states, that Robert Goughe had "probably been bred by Thomas Pope," meaning educated by him for the stage; but there is no other existing evidence on the point, and this will hardly be deemed sufficient.

Robert Goughe seems to have resided in Southwark, and we never hear of any connexion between him and any other company but the King's players, occupying the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's show that he was living in Hill's Rents in 1604, in Samson's Rents in 1605 and 1606; but in 1612 he had removed to Austin's Rents; and as he continued there in 1622, there is little doubt that he did not change his abode until his death, three years afterwards. We meet with the following entries at St. Saviour's, regarding the baptisms and burials of his children:—

Baptized: 1605, 30 May, Elizabeth Gough, daughter of Robert, a player.

Baptized: 1608, 24 Nov., Nicholas Goffe, sonne of Robert, a player.

Baptized: 1610, Feb. 10, Dorathye Goffe, daughter of Robert, a player.

Buried: 1612, Jan. 12, Dorathy Goffe, a child.

Baptized: 1614, Aug. 7, Alexander Goffe, sonne of Robert, a player.

This last was, of course, Alexander Goughe, "the woman-actor of the Blackfriars," as Wright calls him, who afterwards flourished for many years on the stage, who, when he was only twelve years old, was "Cænis, Vespasian's concubine," in Massinger's "Roman Actor," and three years afterwards Acanthe, in the same dramatist's "Picture." Alexander was the youngest and last child of his parents, as far as we are able to learn from the registers.

With the exception stated on the preceding page, we have

no means of deciding what parts Robert Goughe filled in the productions of Shakespeare or of other poets: his name is not appended to the *dramatis personæ* of any plays by Ben Jonson, or Beaumont and Fletcher; and, as he died early in 1625, he had no opportunity of appearing in the works of later writers. The probability certainly is, that he sustained female characters in some of the earlier plays of our great dramatist; but we have not the slightest clue to any of them, and we need not indulge in conjectures which our readers can now form as well for themselves.

Neither Malone nor Chalmers knew anything of the marriage, family, or death of Goughe: we find the last event thus recorded in the bound register-book, made out from the monthly accounts at St. Saviour's:—

Buried: 1624, Feb. 19, Robert Goffe, a man,

which might apply to any other Robert Goughe besides our actor; but in the monthly account, from which the register-book was certainly copied, the "quality" of the "man" is thus distinguished:—

19 Feb., 1624, Robert Goffe, a player, buried.

Why the person who transcribed the book substituted "man" for "player" does not appear; but this is another circumstance which shows the superior value of the more ancient, and often more particular and explanatory, records.

RICHARD ROBINSON.

This player may have been an original actor in some of Shakespeare's later dramas, and he just outlived the complete and final suppression of the stage. Of his death, and of the date at which it occurred, which have been matters of dispute, we shall speak in due course.

His earliest appearance in any list of actors is at the end of Ben Jonson's "Catiline," first represented "by the King's Majesty's servants," in 1611. Robinson was probably the youngest performer in the company: he is certainly the only member of whom we do not hear before, and we may conclude that he sustained one of the four female characters. He had most likely been adopted into the association as a representative of parts of that kind. Ben Jonson divides the "principal tragedians" in his "Catiline" into two columns, and places Robinson at the bottom of the first, and Ecclestone at the bottom of the second. Such seems to have been the class of characters Robinson usually performed early in his career, but Gifford tells us, that he "undoubtedly played the part of Wittipol"[1] in Ben Jonson's "Devil is an Ass," which was produced in 1616: Wittipol is "a young gallant," and might very well have been placed in Robinson's hands, though we have no distinct proof that it was assigned to him. In this very play Ben Jonson speaks of Robinson in terms of extraordinary eulogy, as an actor of female characters: it occurs in act ii., scene viii., of the earliest edition of 1631; but Gifford makes it the third scene of the second act, and changes "*Dick* Robinson," the familiar name by which he was known among

[1] Ben Jonson's Works, v. 73.

his fellows, into "*Dickey* Robinson:" it will be observed that in the following quotation Ben Jonson twice calls him Dick Robinson:—

Engine. Why, sir, your best will be one o' the players.
Merecraft. No; there's no trusting them. They'll talk on't,
And tell their poets.
Engine. What if they do? the jest
Will brook the stage. But there be some of 'em
Are very honest lads. There is Dick Robinson,
A very pretty fellow, and comes often
To a gentleman's chamber, a friend of mine: we had
The merriest supper of it there, one night.
The gentleman's landlady invited him
To a gossip's feast: now, he, sir, brought Dick Robinson,
Drest like a lawyer's wife, amongst 'em all.
(I lent him clothes) but to see him behave it,
And lay the law, and carve, and drink unto 'em,
And then talk bawdy, and send frolics! O!
It would have burst your buttons, or not left you
A seame.
Merecraft. They say he's an ingenious youth.
Engine. O, sir! and dresses himself the best! beyond
Forty o' your ladies! Did you ne'er see him?
Merecraft. No: I do seldom see those toys. But think you
That we may have him?
Engine. Sir, the young gentleman,
I tell you of can command him.

This, it will be remembered, was acted in 1616, five years after we first hear of Robinson, and when he had established himself in public estimation in the line adverted to. The only female character he is known to have filled is the lady of Govianus in "The Second Maiden's Tragedy," but at what date is uncertain: neither do we know at what period he began to represent male characters. He acted in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Bonduca," "Double Marriage," "Wife for a Month," and "Wild Goose Chase:" the last (published, as we

have already stated, in 1652, by Lowin and Taylor) was brought out in 1621, and in it Robinson had not the part even of a young man, much less of a woman: he was "La Castre the indulgent father of Mirabel."[1] In Carlell's "Deserving Favourite" he was Orsinio, and in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi" he followed that experienced actor, Condell, as the Cardinal, about the year 1622. By this time he was evidently disqualified for the sort of characters he had sustained in his youth.

As soon as his name could be included in any patent to the King's players, it is found there. James I. made no concession of this kind to his own theatrical servants between 1603 and 1619: at the former date Robinson must have been quite a boy, but at the latter, when the king confirmed his patent of 1603, Robinson's name comes last but one in a list of twelve performers. In 1624 he subscribed the submission to the Master of the Revels, for acting "The Spanish Viceroy," immediately after Joseph Taylor; and there is no doubt that he was then an eminent member of the company. His name fills precisely the same place in the patent granted by Charles I. in 1625, and there are only four actors before him, and eight after him. Condell being dead in 1629, Robinson's name stands fourth in the order, then issued, for cloaks for the King's players: Heminge, Lowin, and Taylor, only precede him in the enumeration of fourteen performers.

Nothing seems recorded of Robinson for an interval of

[1] "Acted by Master Richard Robinson" is placed after the name of the character in Lowin and Taylor's edition of 1652: Robinson had then been dead about five years; and the mere information, that such and such parts were "acted" by such and such players, is placed against the names of all the performers in the comedy but three: of Mirabel it is said, "incomparably acted by Master Joseph Taylor;" of Bellcur we are told that it was "most naturally acted by Master John Lowin;" and of Pinac the criticism is, that it was "admirably well acted by Master Thomas Pollard."

eighteen years, but we may be sure that he remained on the stage as long as the Puritans permitted that there should be a stage for him to remain on. His name follows that of Lowin in the dedication to the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647; and the list, which we have inserted on p. 260, contains the last notice of several distinguished actors of, what may be called, the school of Shakespeare and Burbadge.

We know absolutely nothing respecting the family of which Richard Robinson came; but, as may be imagined, we find the name of Robinson of frequent occurrence in the old registers, and sometimes with the prefix of Richard. Thus, at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, we have Richard Robinson married to Priscilla Harrys on 11th January, 1599, much too early for our actor; and on 2nd September, 1581, we find the burial of "Isaac, sonne to Richard Robinson," at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. This Richard Robinson may have been the father of our actor, but we discovered no trace of any family connexion beyond the identity of names.[1]

We now come to the disputed question of the death of Robinson; and, in relation to it, we meet with the following passage in a work we have often before quoted, Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699:—"When the stage was put down, and the rebellion raised, most of the players, except Lowin, Taylor and Pollard (who were superannuated) went into the King's army, and, like good men and true, served their old master, though in a different yet more honourable capacity. Robinson was killed at the taking of a place (I think Basing House) by Harrison, he that was after hanged at Charing Cross, who

[1] A person of the name of Richard Robinson, "a man more debased by many than he merits of any, so good parts are there in the man," assisted Thomas Churchyard in his book entitled "A true Discourse historicall of the succeeding Governours in the Netherlands." 1602. 4to. If this Richard Robinson were the father of the actor, we have no evidence on the point.

refused him quarter, and shot him in the head when he had laid down his arms, abusing Scripture at the same time in saying —"Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently."

Basing House having been taken on the 14th October, 1645, if the Robinson then killed by Harrison were Richard Robinson, it is quite clear that he could not have subscribed the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647: if he were dead, and had been dead two years, his name would assuredly not have appeared there; and it is to be observed that Wright, who printed his tract more than fifty years after the event, does not give the Christian name of the Robinson who was killed by General Harrison. Now, there were two other Robinsons on the stage besides Richard, and at about the same time: one of these was John Robinson, who performed in N. Richards's "Messalina," which was printed in 1640; and the other William Robinson, who was one of the actors in Thomas Heywood's "Fair Maid of the West," printed in 1631. As to John Robinson, we know that he died in 1641, and was registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the following distinct manner:—

Buried, John Robinson, player, 27 April, 1641.

We therefore put him out of the question: his burial would not have been thus recorded in 1641, if he had been killed in 1645. Still, there remains William Robinson, who was one of Queen Anne's players in 1619, and subsequently performed in "The Fair Maid of the West:" when he died we have no memorial, and our conviction is, that he was the Robinson to whom Wright alludes, and who was killed at Basing House in 1645. Richard Robinson survived to join, with his nine fellows, in the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, in 1647.

In an article in vol. ii. of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," Mr. P. Cunningham adduces a passage from a report by Hugh Peters to the House of Commons, dated 15th October,

1645, the day after the taking of Basing House, giving an account of that event: it contains the following remarkable sentence:—"There lay upon the ground, slain by the hands of Major Harrison (that godly and gallant gentleman), Major Cuffle, a man of great account among them, and a notorious papist, and Robinson, the player, who, a little before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament."

This piece of evidence seems decisive that "Robinson, the player," was killed by "that godly and gallant gentleman," Harrison; but it does not prove that it was *Richard* Robinson. In opposition to it we have not only the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647, which under ordinary circumstances would be deemed sufficient, but the actual register of the burial of Richard Robinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1647-8: neither is it merely the burial of a Richard Robinson, but of Richard Robinson, the player. It stands precisely in these terms:—

Richard Robinson, a player, buried 23 March, 1647.

It was unusual in this parish to record the business or profession of the person interred, but in this instance it seems almost to have been done in anticipation of a question, which we apprehend is now set at rest. It is due to Chalmers to state, that he was the first to maintain that Richard Robinson had not been killed by Harrison, but he was not acquainted with the precise date of the entry we have quoted. He treated Wright's anecdote as a mere invention; but there is no doubt, on the evidence of Hugh Peters, that it is true—true of William Robinson, though not of Richard.

We have not been able to discover whether Richard Robinson left any will or property behind him. In 1623 he had been indebted £29 13*s.* 0*d.* to Nicholas Tooley, (p. 239) which he, no doubt, duly paid.

JOHN SHANCKE.

Malone and, after him, Chalmers state, that Shancke[1] "performed the part of the Curate" (meaning Sir Roger, the chaplain) "in Fletcher's Scornful Lady," and they derived their information from the tract called *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, although they did not give their authority. Wright's words are, "Pollard and Robinson were comedians; so was Shancke, who used to act Sir Roger in The Scornful Lady." "The Scornful Lady" was, in all probability, chiefly written by Beaumont, and it was acted soon after "the Cleve Wars," which are mentioned in it, broke out in 1609. Shancke was a servant, i. e., lover, without a name, in "The Wild Goose Chase," and he was one of the performers in "The Prophetess:" the two last seem to have been brought out in 1621 and 1622. He was also Hilario, in Massinger's "Picture," in 1629. This is all that is known respecting the parts he sustained, or the plays in which he acted. He was on the stage in 1603, his name coming last in the enumeration of thirteen players acting under the patronage of Prince Henry:[2] he must at this date have been connected with Henslowe, but (perhaps on account of his low rank) he does not occur in the old manager's "Diary." In 1613 most of the members of the company had been taken into the service of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and there we again meet with Shancke, last but one in an association of fourteen players. He does

[1] His name is spelt with nearly as much variety as it was well capable of—Shancke, Shanks, Shanke, Shankes, Schank, Schankes, and Schancke. We have adopted the orthography of the folio of 1623.

[2] Harl. MS., No. 252.

not appear to have joined the King's dramatic servants until shortly before the confirmation of their patent in 1619, and then only in a humble capacity, for his name is postponed to all the rest. He submitted to the Master of the Revels in 1624, was mentioned in the patent of 1625, having ascended to about the middle of the list, and he was included in the warrant for cloaks in 1629, being then fifth in the enumeration. Hence it appears, as far as location may be considered a criterion, that he had been gradually rising in the profession since he became an actor at the Globe and Blackfriars.

We may conclude, from the following stanza in a humorous ballad of the time, that Shancke was celebrated for singing rhimes, and what were technically "jigs," on the stage, and that in this respect, as a low comedian, he had been the legitimate successor of Tarlton, Kempe, Phillips, Singer, &c.

> That's the fat fool of the Curtain,
> And the lean fool of the Bull:
> Since Shancke did leave to sing his rhimes,
> He is counted but a gull.
> The players on the Bankside,
> The round Globe and the Swan,
> Will teach you idle tricks of love,
> But the Bull will play the man."

This production is called "Turner's Dish of Stuff, or a Gallimaufry," and it is subscribed "W. Turner," and dated 1662, but no doubt a reprint of an earlier production, written and printed while the Curtain, Bull, Globe, and Swan theatres were occupied by various successful companies. At that date (and it could not have well been later than 1625, or 1630) Shancke seems to have enjoyed a high reputation for comic performances. As early as March, 1623-4, he had produced a piece, called "Shancke's Ordinary," which Malone and Chalmers dignify by the title of "a comedy;" but it was certainly no more than the species of entertainment called "a jig," and the name it bore seems sufficiently to indicate its

character. In the only authority on which we hear of this piece, Sir Henry Herbert's Register, the entry regarding it is in these terms:—

For the King's company Shancke's ordinary, written by Shancke himself, this 16 March, 1623, £1.

Shancke seems to have lived nearly all his life in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and there we meet with the registration of the baptisms and burials of many of his children between 1610 (before which date he must of course have married, though we have found no record of the ceremony) and 1629. As Malone and Chalmers omitted to take any notice of them in the little they wrote about our actor, we shall subjoin them as they stand in the original records. The first entry is of an unnamed son, probably born out of the parish:—

Buried: a sonne of John Shanckes, player, 31 Dec., 1610.
Christened: Elizabeth, daughter of John Shanck, plaier, 10 Feb., 1611.
Buried: a daughter of John Shanck, gent., 22 March, 1614.[1]
Christened: James, sonne of John Shancks, gentleman, 1 Aug., 1619.
Christened: John, sonne of John Shanckes, chandler, 2 Feb., 1620.

[1] It will be observed that there is an interval of more than four years between the burial of this child and the baptism of the next: during that period John Shancke may have lived out of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and in a document at St. Saviour's, Southwark, we meet with the name of "John Shancke" as a resident in Rochester Yard. "John Taylor, the poet," it is recorded, also lived there, and at the same time. Very possibly this John Shancke was our actor, but the paper containing his name has no date, though from other circumstances we may conjecture that it belongs to one of the years between 1615 and 1620. "John Shancke, a child," was buried at St. Saviour's on the 10th October, 1614; but it should seem that, if at all, our actor did not quit Cripplegate until after 22nd March, 1614-15: moreover, there was a John Shancke, a gardener, living in the parish of St. Saviour's at that period.

Christened: Thomas, sonne of John Shankes, gentleman, 18 Nov., 1621.

Buried: Thomas, sonne of John Shank, gentleman, 1 Dec., 1621.

Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Schankes, player, 3 Aug., 1623.

This Winifred must have died young, though her burial is not registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, because, farther on in the register, we read—

Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Shancke, player, 19 May, 1626.

The second Winifred was buried on the 16th June, 1629. It may be doubted whether John Shanckes, the "chandler," of the fifth entry we have extracted, was the same person as John Shancke, the player, because there were other persons of the name in the parish. At the same time Shancke may, like Heminge and others, have carried on a business, besides being an actor; and if he did so, it may account for his continued residence in Cripplegate, long after he had attached himself to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars. He, perhaps, first took up his abode in Cripplegate, when, in 1603, he was one of the players of Prince Henry occupying the Fortune; of which association, though under a different name, he continued a member until he became one of the King's players. The register, in one entry, gives the place of Shancke's residence, viz., Golden Lane, in which Henslowe and Alleyn's theatre stood; and, besides servants, several persons, who seem to have lodged with Shancke, were buried from his house: Susan Rodes and Jane Buffington "servants to Mr. Shancke," were buried in 1618 and 1622; and Mrs. Sarah Dambrooke and Mrs. Maryan Porter, widows, were interred "from the house of John Shancke, gentleman," in 1624: the last might be the widow of Henry Porter.

Whether all his children were by the same wife we cannot state, for the Cripplegate registers do not add (as was some-

times done in other parishes) the Christian name of the mother; but on 26th January, 1630, we meet with the marriage of a John Shancke and Elizabeth Martin, and he may have been our actor.[1] If he were, he only lived five years after this second marriage, for in a subsequent part of the volume we meet with the following registration of his interment in the parish where he had so long resided:—

Buried: John Shank, player, 27 Jan., 1635.

We know of only one actor of the name of Shancke, but he may have had a son, or some other relative, on the stage, who was living in 1642, and to whom the subjoined paragraphs (first pointed out by Isaac Reed) from "The Perfect Diurnal," of 24th October in that year, may apply:—

"This day there came three of the Lord General's Officers post from the army to London, signifying that there was a great fight on Sunday last, and being brought to the Parliament and examined, it appeared they were not sent from the army with any letters, or otherwise, but in a cowardly manner run from their captains at the beginning of the fight, and had most basely possessed the people, both as they came away, and at their coming to town, with many false rumours, giving forth in speeches that there were 20,000 men killed on both sides, and that there were not four in all their companies escaped with life besides themselves; and many other strange wonders, though altogether false, it being rather conceived that their companies, like themselves, upon the beginning of the fight, very valiantly took to their heels and ran away.

"And after further inquiry was made after these commanders, it was no wonder to hear their strange news, for they were Captain Wilson, Lieut. Whitney, and *one Shanks, a player*. An affidavit was offered to

[1] We cannot trace the death of Mrs. Shancke in any of the registers we have examined. We should not feel much hesitation in deciding that the John Shancke, who married Elizabeth Martin, was the subject of our memoir, if the Cripplegate registers did not prove that, while the actor was resident in the parish, a blacksmith, of both the same names, was also carrying on business there.

be made, that one of them said, before he went out with the Earl of Essex, that he would take the Parliament's pay, but would never fight against any of the King's party; and the other two were very rude and insolent persons: whereupon the House ordered they should all three be committed to the Gatehouse, and brought to condign punishment, according to martial law, for their base cowardliness."

Whatever be the truth or falsehood of this story, and whether the "Shanks" above named were or were not "a player," it is very evident that he was not the man who had been a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's plays, because he was buried, as we have shown, about seven years before. Malone and Chalmers thought that what we have above quoted applied to John Shancke, and conjectured that he was dead in 1647, probably because his name is not found at the end of the dedication of the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in that year. Had they resorted to the registers at Cripplegate, and examined them with any attention, they would have seen that he was interred in the churchyard of St. Giles, in the commencement of the year 1635-6.

JOHN RICE.

This "principal actor in all these plays" comes last in the folio of 1623; and we perhaps possess as little distinct information regarding him, as respecting any others of the more obscure names in the list of twenty-six performers of Shakespeare's dramas. We do not find Rice's name in any parish register at all in a way to enable us to identify him, and we have very little other documentary or traditional evidence. Malone dismisses him in five lines, and one of the two points he states is a decided oversight.[1]

Rice was among the twelve players who, on 29th August, 1611, entered into an engagement with Henslowe to perform under his management at the Fortune.[2] Whether Rice had been previously connected with any company of players, we have no means of determining. He sustained an unimportant character called Pescara, in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," about 1622, when it was revived, and he may have appeared in the same part, and in the same piece, when it was first brought out by the King's players; but we think it improbable, because, when James I. granted the confirmation of his patent in 1619, the name of John Rice is not found in the list of the company.[3] It is true, he may have been included in the general

[1] Namely, that John Rice "was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge." The clergyman of St. Saviour's, Southwark, whose name is introduced into Heminge's will, was "*John* Rice, clerk;" and John Rice, the actor, could not, therefore, be his brother.

[2] Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 98.

[3] Rice was an actor in "The False One," but his character, and the date when the play was brought out, cannot be ascertained. Burbadge

terms, "and the rest of their associates," but this is hardly likely, if he deserved such distinct mention in the folio of 1623. In the year after that volume was published, Rice was among the eleven players who made a submission to the Master of the Revels for acting a drama without license: he was one of his Majesty's servants when Charles I. granted the patent of 1625; but he had disappeared from the company four years afterwards, when the usual quantities of cloth and velvet were issued to them for cloaks. By this date he had perhaps retired from the profession, or was dead. It is not impossible that "John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark," to whom Heminge, in 1630, left "twenty shillings as a remembrance of his love," should have been our actor, who, having quitted the stage soon after 1625, had subsequently taken orders. Such changes were not without precedent: Stephen Gosson had been a player and a dramatic author, yet afterwards obtained the capital living of St. Botolph, Bishopgate.[1] The Rev. John Rice was probably only curate of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

In the token-books of that parish the name of John Rice

had no part in it, and he was probably then dead, which precludes the supposition that Beaumont aided Fletcher in the composition of it. That he had some coadjutor appears indisputable.

[1] He had the living in 1609, if not earlier, and, in consequence, his wife and daughter were present in that year at the marriage of the Earl of Argyle and the daughter of Sir W. Cornwallis, as appears by the following extract from the register:—

"Archibald Campbell, Earle of Argille, and Anne Cornwallis, the daughter of Sir William Cornwallis, Knight, were maried the 30 Nov., 1609, p lic. ex. off. M^ri Kempe, Rus. Facult., and in the presence of theise whose names are as followeth: *videlicet*, Sir Edwarde Cecill, Knighte, Sir Jhone Gwynne, Knight, Mr. Robert Bacon, Esquier, the Ladye Bonde and hir gentlewoman, Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, her daughter, and Mr. Christopher Newdicke, gent, with divers others."

occurs, but we can only guess that it refers in one instance to the actor: the date is 1619, when "John Rice *et uxor*" lived "near the playhouse." This establishes also, if it were our actor, that he was married. It is our opinion that he was not early enough a member of the King's players to have performed originally in any of the plays of our great dramatist.

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